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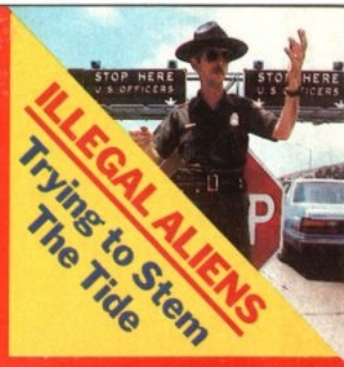
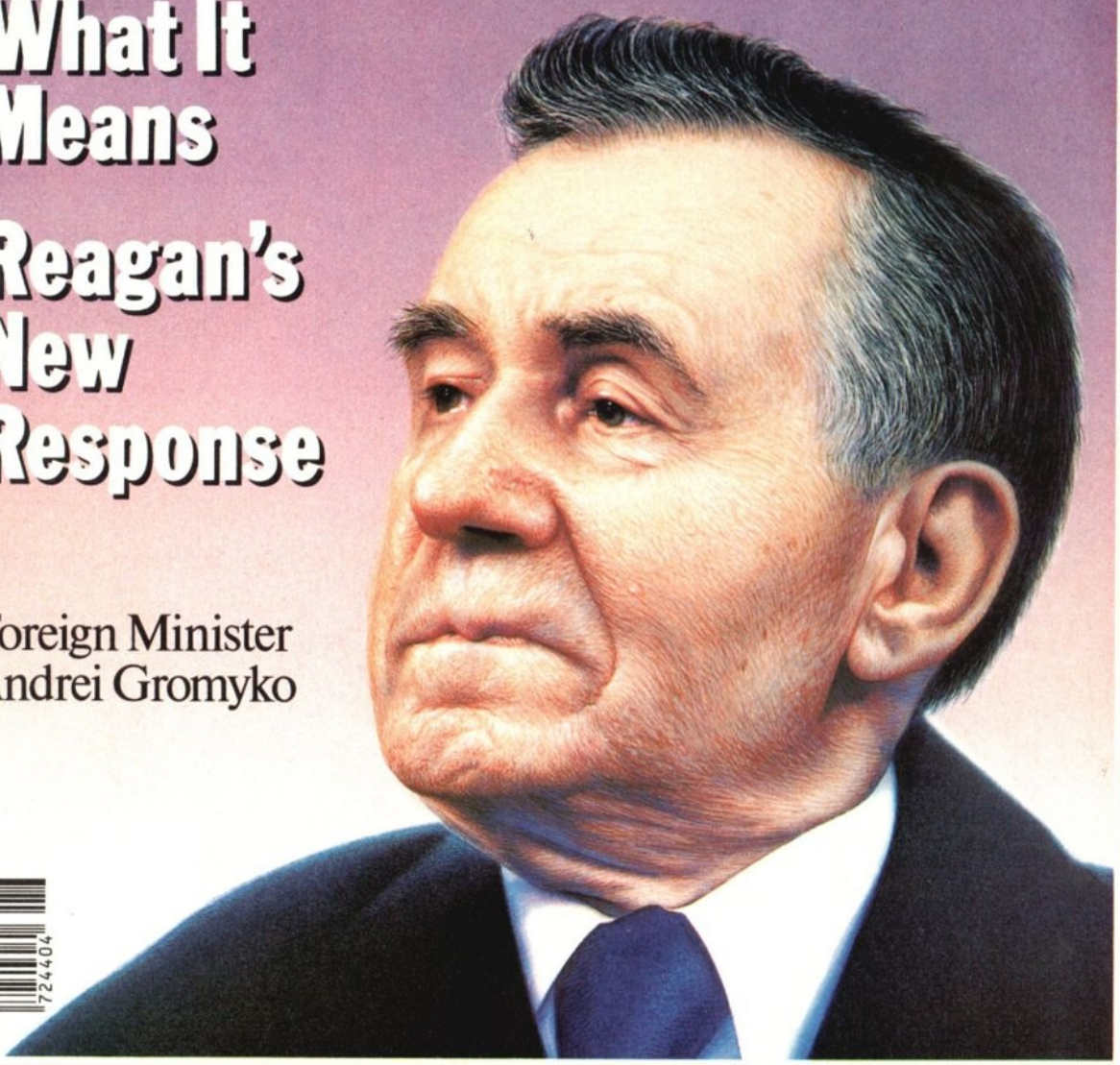


ILLEGAL ALIENS
Trying to Stem The Tide

MOSCOW'S HARD LINE

- What It Means
- Reagan's New Response

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko



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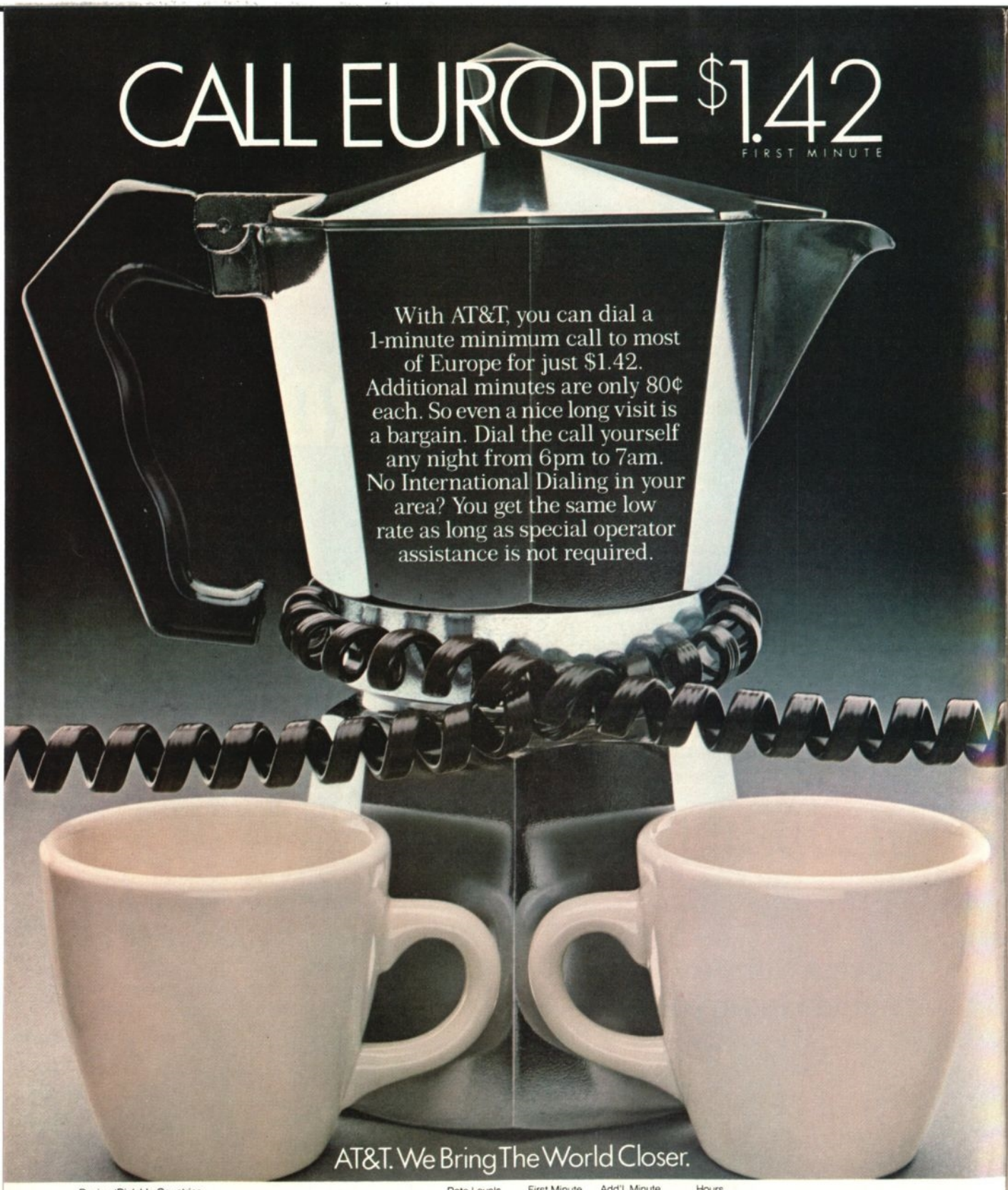

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JUNE 25, 1984

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Vol. 123 No. 26

COVER: Gromyko sets Moscow's ever harder line toward the U.S. 22

For more than a quarter-century he was the obedient executor of Soviet foreign policy; now, with a weak Chernenko at the helm, "Mr. Nyet" has become the architect of an unforgiving, uncompromising attitude that contrasts sharply with Reagan's new conciliatory line. A background look at the dangerous breakdown of the most vital negotiations of our time. *See* WORLD.

NATION: Reagan offers the Kremlin an olive branch of sorts 12

In a calculated departure from his usual hard-line rhetoric, directed primarily at American voters, the President says he is ready to meet with the Soviet leadership. ▸ Reagan's enduring political magic show. ▸ Mondale begins the search for a running mate and for party unity. ▸ Congress belatedly debates a measure aimed at slowing the torrent of immigrants entering the U.S. illegally.

BUSINESS: A flood of new jobs has made the U.S. the world's envy 52

Most of the employment has been created in services, where workers performing every task from doughnut making to neurosurgery now represent 70% of the labor force. ▸ Argentina tries to dictate terms of $2.1 billion in additional loans, while U.S. banks worry about missed payments. ▸ Financier Saul Steinberg extracts $32 million in greenmail profits from Walt Disney Productions.

46 World
Canada's ruling Liberal Party chooses a leader. ▸ Calm returns to Punjab after Sikh violence. ▸ The papal shooting plot thickens.

60 Sport
The Boston Celtics, in seven taut games, rebound against the Los Angeles Lakers for their 15th N.B.A. championship.

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Olympic officials have a better way of testing athletes for drugs, notably anabolic steroids. ▸ A pill promises herpes relief.

63 Law
Three Supreme Court decisions seem to veer rightward, but legal scholars doubt that the Warren era has been overruled.

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Bad or good, the international troupes at the Olympic Arts Festival accent the bold, the visual and the spectacular.

71 Books
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75 Press
U.S. News & World Report, the down-home newsweekly, is sold by employees to the activist *Atlantic* owner, Mortimer Zuckerman.

78 Show Business
Two violent summer movies are prompting a review of the motion-picture rating system in use for 16 years.

Cover: Illustration by Gottfried Helnwein

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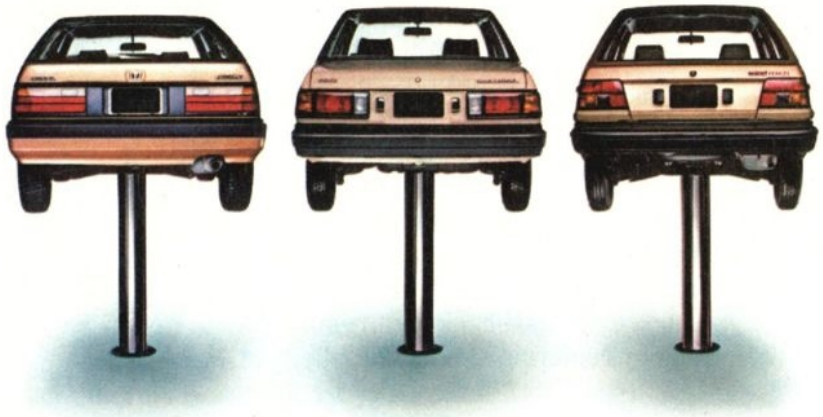

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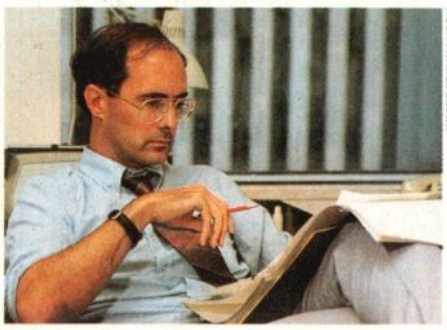
A Letter from the Publisher



HUGH PATRICK BROWN

Strobe Talbott: employing a small ruse

Since Andrei Gromyko first appeared on the world scene as Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. during World War II, three generations of TIME correspondents have dogged the footsteps of this taciturn, publicity-shy diplomat. In Washington, at the United Nations and during almost every East-West crisis, reporters have waited, usually in vain, for the impenetrable Gromyko mask to slip.

TIME's current practitioners of the art of Kremlin watching are as persistent, and sometimes as frustrated, as their predecessors. Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott, whose behind-the-scenes narrative of the Reagan Administration's conduct of the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks is a large part of this week's cover package, is a Sovietologist who began his TIME career as a summer trainee in the magazine's Moscow bureau in 1969. Last week Talbott, on his twelfth visit to the Soviet Union, filed his observations of the Soviet foreign policy process. He confesses to once having employed a small ruse in an effort to interview the close-mouthed Gromyko. During a 1978 Moscow meeting between the Soviet Foreign Minister and then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Talbott borrowed a camera and joined the photographers' pool. "When Gromyko came near," Talbott recalls, "I stepped forward, introduced myself and asked him a couple of questions. Gromyko's answer: 'Nice to meet you, but this is not a press conference.' "

To help report this week's story on the new hard line in U.S.-Soviet relations, Moscow Bureau Chief Erik Amfitheatrof studied the record of the past and consulted dozens of Soviet and Western sources. He also drew on his on-the-scene experience of watching Gromyko at numerous Kremlin functions, including the receptions for foreign statesmen that followed the funerals of Leonid Brezhnev and Yuri Andropov. On those occasions, he reports, Gromyko lingered longer with East bloc allies and exchanged only perfunctory greetings with Western leaders. "The exception," Amfitheatrof notes, "was Britain's Margaret Thatcher, who seemed able to charm the grim-faced Foreign Minister."

Amfitheatrof 's files, along with those of Washington Correspondent William Stewart, who interviewed State Department officials, retired Ambassadors to Moscow and Kremlinologists, went to Associate Editor John Kohan, who wrote the main story. Says Kohan, who speaks fluent Russian and has visited the Soviet Union six times: "It's hard to remember, from my days in Leningrad as a student during détente, that the Russians once spoke confidently about good relations with the U.S."

John a. Meyer

Small colleges can help you make it big.

Just ask: Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, Eureka College, IL; Steve Bell, ABC News Correspondent/Anchorman, Central College, IA; Ray Cave, Managing Editor, TIME, St. John's College, MD; Margaret Heckler, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services, Albertus Magnus College, CT.

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Letters

Woman Veep

To the Editors:

In response to those who are asking, "Is the nation ready for a woman Vice President?" [NATION, June 4], I say, "Try it." To have a woman Vice President, or for that matter a black President, could have better effects than people think.

Christina Chin
San Francisco

Nominating a woman for Vice President in order to get votes still reeks of exploiting women. Cannot the candidate's skill and integrity be the basis for the choice?

Karen L. Mulder
Thornwood, N.Y.

You wonder if America is "ready" for a woman Vice President. That is not the question. This nation is always ready for the ablest candidate, male or female. Women, however, have apparently failed to exhibit the required qualities. Your report makes it evident that women will fail again. The question is not when will America be ready for a female Vice President but, rather, when will a woman be ready for the vice presidency?

Donald Waterworth
Newfolden, Minn.

At this stage in our civilization's progress, the masculine approach has become ridiculous and can only end in the demise of the human race. It is time we paid attention to the ideas of the other sex.

John E.I. Cutts
Mahwah, N.J.

Whether a woman carries the vice-presidential laurels in the '84 elections is irrelevant. The vast potential of women, once let out of the bottle, can never be forced back. Men who might run scared to the polls to vote against a woman Vice President will gradually be outnumbered by women doing just the opposite.

Barbara Ann Markel
Tel Aviv

Women are emotional. They are also unaware of the exigencies of life, and they lack objectivity.

Joseph B. Della Polla
Philadelphia

Having a woman for Vice President sounds great. We would not have to pay her as much as a man.

Heber F. Whyte
Worden, Ill.

Stop encouraging women to seek the presidency or the vice presidency or any position that will take them outside their homes.

Charles O. Carr
Cleveland

You describe my 1970 quote on women's "raging hormonal imbalance" as baroque sexism, citing my lurking "atavistic suspicion" that women are not stable enough to occupy positions of leadership. I do not want to get deep into the science of sexual differences, but it is the male hormone, testosterone, that makes the man, with his drive and macho behavior. The ambitious female politician or leader can come about only by an inborn androgyny, produced by a high level of that male hormone with its attendant aggressiveness. This male trait, admittedly not a very attractive one, is the single aptitude womanly women just do not have, and this is agreed to by both male and female scientists.

Edgar F. Berman, M.D.
Lutherville, Md.

Having women in leadership roles is long overdue in American politics. But to believe that females in positions of power might be "nicer" than their male counterparts is naive. Cruelty and inhumanity are not exclusively male domains, just as compassion and respect for human dignity are not restricted to women. Instead of looking for dubious areas of distinction, we should look at an individual's capabilities, regardless of gender.

Mark N. Steinberg
Anaheim Hills, Calif.

The Democratic leadership is pondering the wrong question in considering the merits of a woman vice-presidential candidate. If the party had any sense, it would discard the presidential contenders it now has and run a woman for that office. Once nominated, she could placate the few conservatives left in the Democratic camp by naming Walter Mondale, Gary Hart or Jesse Jackson as her vice-presidential running mate. Such an unorthodox ticket would probably stand no less chance than the one that is now being considered.

Michael Jernigan
Auburn, Ala.

I am a staunch Republican. However, should the Democratic Party select San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, I not only would vote Democratic but would, for the first time in my 63 years, become an active campaigner.

Meyer Nelson
Seal Beach, Calif.

If any woman in this country has in-depth, firsthand knowledge of the presidency, it is Rosalynn Carter.

Martin Ward
New York City

D-Day Tribute

I want Americans to know that many of us are still as grateful today as we were 40 years ago, when the Allied troops landed in Normandy [D-DAY, May 28]. We thank with love the parents who sent their sons to our rescue.

Andrée Vandeneynde-Quinet
Furnaux, Belgium

You say, "The Americans dominated the drama. The invasion, in a way, was a perfect expression of American capabilities." I agree that every man there was a hero, but not all were Americans.

Stephane Ferraton
Zurich

Your retelling of D-day reminded me of my landing on Juno Beach with the Canadian 3rd Division. My first contact with the French occurred when I encountered the village curé. He had a sour look, perhaps because a shell had torn a hole in the spire of his 17th century church. *"Bonjour, Monsieur le Curé,"* I greeted him. "Are you happy that we have come?" "Yes," he replied, "but I will be happier when you leave." Memories like this give me mixed emotions when I march with my fellow veteran survivors.

Joseph S. Honan
Banstead, England

I protest your observation that one of the lessons of D-day is that "war is cruel and wasteful but sometimes necessary." No, war is only cruel and wasteful. You obviously have not learned the lesson.

Dieter Sauerbrey
Buchenberg, West Germany

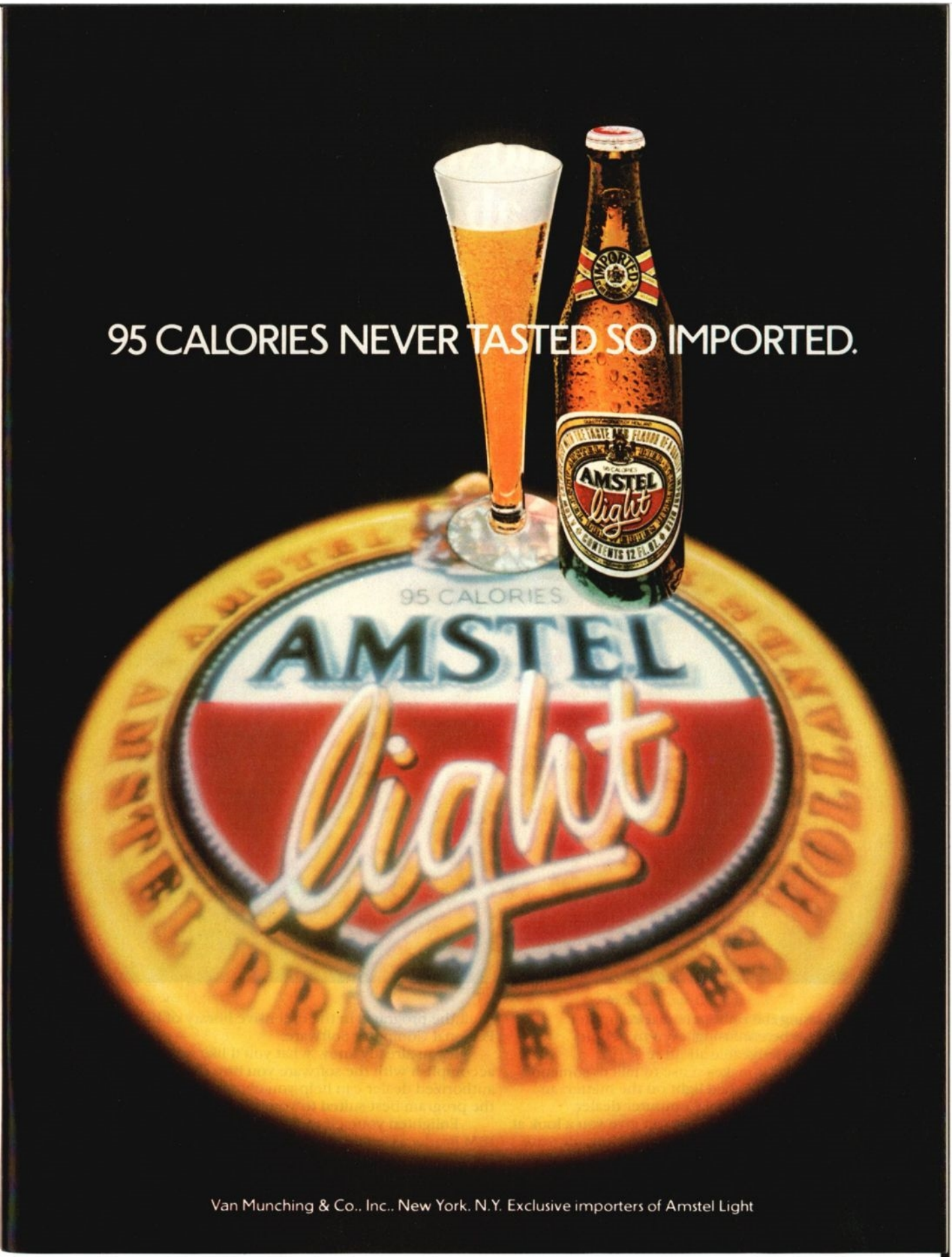
The G.I.s shown huddled to avoid enemy fire as they approached shore are not headed for Omaha Beach. The scene is of the 89th Infantry Division crossing the Rhine.

John Searle
Sylvania, Ohio

Reader Searle is correct.

Cigar Constituency

As a cigar-smoking Democrat, I agree with Hugh Sidey [NATION, June 4]. Walter Mondale should be photographed with his cigar. The public should see that a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, social justice and a safer world is



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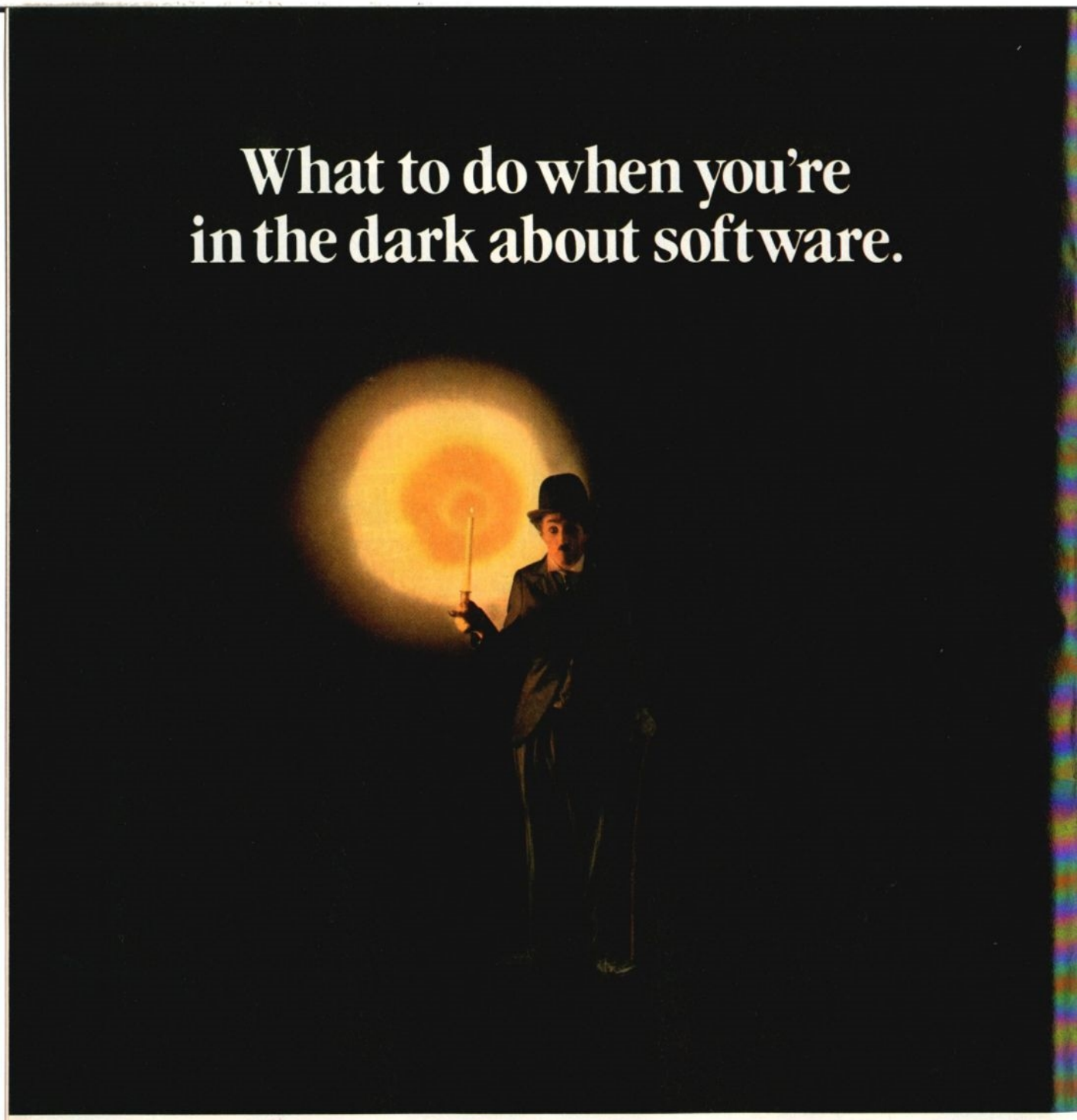
What to do when you're in the dark about software.



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Letters

also a cigar lover. For too long now, cigar smokers have been stereotyped as macho and uncaring.

David G. Pak
Somerville, Mass.

As a Cuban-born cigar smoker, I was glad to see your comments on the virtues of cigars. However, as a voter, I was unmoved. I am still for Ronald Reagan.

Juan A. del Cerro
Miami

Mexico's Message

Both Mexico's President De la Madrid and the Inter-American Dialogue group miss an important point in their approach to Central America's problems [WORLD, May 28]. It is true that the roots of insecurity in Central America are primarily economic, social and political, and the solutions lie in economic and social development. However, it will take decades to change a situation whose roots go back hundreds of years. Meanwhile, the Soviets are constantly exploiting the situation by offering quick solutions to gain power over these oppressed people. It is as necessary to stop the Communists as to correct the social injustices.

George J.Y. Hsieh
Republic of Nauru

Three cheers for the Mexican President for explaining the facts of life to our leaders. I hope President Reagan had his hearing aid turned up.

Ward Chase
Cambridge, Ont.

Land Reform's Report Card

El Salvador is trying to solve its internal problems with political cure-alls that are transforming the country into a dependent welfare state. Redistribution of the wealth through expropriation is simply destroying what little wealth and confidence there is in the country [WORLD, June 4]. Land reform, where there is not enough land to go around, has perpetuated the frustrations of the landless majority and has led the nation into an irreversible state of sub-subsistence flowerpot farmers.

Abdiel Galindo
Madison, Wis.

Watch Your Gender

You refer to Marlo Thomas, Bella Abzug and Shirley MacLaine as "liberati" [PEOPLE, June 4]. Next time please try "liberatae."

Edward R. Cunniffe Jr.
New York City

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

Most cameras will flash for your baby's first step. But what about her second?

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Any way you look at it, the Olympus Quick Flash gives you what other cameras are missing: a lot more terrific shots. So why not visit your Olympus dealer, or write for a brochure: Olympus, Box 9, Woodbury, NY 11797. In Canada: W. Carsen Co. Ltd., Toronto.

After all, if you spend precious moments waiting for your flash to recharge, maybe you've waited long enough.

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In Alaska: Where the Chili Is Chilly

In the fall of 1978, Fran Tate had the notion to open a Mexican restaurant in Barrow, Alaska. She had canvassed the town—there are, if you count the transients, roughly 3,000 people there, 80% of them Eskimos—and Mexican food is what they said they favored, overwhelmingly. The more she thought about it, the more she liked the idea, and one day, in a fit of enterprise, she seized a board, a piece of two-by-four, it being the nearest thing at hand, and drew her plans on it—the kitchen, the dining room seating arrangement, all that. Fran recalls, "I thought, 'Boy, that's a hot idea,' and I threw that sucker in my suitcase and flew to Anchorage and went to the bank."

A certain Mr. Peterson at the bank asked, "How much do you want?" Fran said, "Eighty-seven thousand dollars."

Peterson: "Lady, I can't go in and ask my directors for $87,000 with a board, just a board, to show them. I need blueprints."

Fran got blueprints. The bank still turned her down. Then ten other banks turned her down. Barrow, dark 24 hours a day in the winter, light 24 hours a day in the summer, treeless, ice-ridden Barrow, lusted for a Mexican restaurant, Fran claims. "So I just overdrew my checking account by $11,000, wrote a hot check, let a couple of big bills slide and opened Pepe's North of the Border."

Outside, Pepe's is not much to look at; inside, you could be in Nuevo Laredo: serapes, sombreros, paintings of matadors, Mexican waiters. Open 6 a.m. to 10 p.m., it has three dining rooms, 234 seats, and it is usually jammed. Fran plans to expand.

Yankee ingenuity is not new to this forbidding part of the world. In the last winter of the 19th century, for example, a prospector named Ed Jesson heard that gold had been found on the beach at Nome. Trouble was, Jesson was over in the Klondike region of Canada, hundreds of miles removed from the strike. He cast about for transportation, found sled dogs in scarce supply and finally bought a bicycle. He made it to Nome in a month, along the way passing an astonished Indian, who, never having encountered a bike, exclaimed, "White man, he set down, walk like hell!"

Fran Tate is cut of similar cloth. Beside her yearbook picture from her high school in Auburn, Wash., where she held down a newspaper route and set pins in a bowling alley, was written, "By the work one knows the workman." Fran thought this sketch of her character "was awful. Everyone else's said, 'To the best-looking girl in school,' that sort of thing. I thought what a dud I was." Today she owns a sewage-disposal service in Barrow, as well as a water-delivery service, as well as Pepe's. On paper, she is a millionaire. Five Fourth of Julys running, she has won, for her age group, an annual Barrow foot race. She is 54. She has a 24-year-old husband. His name is Juan Ramirez, but everyone calls him Chico. "This is the best of my four marriages," she says. She has a 30-year-old son in Anchorage—"He's a narc"—and a 29-year-old son in Barrow, a driver for one of her firms. "They think Chico's a neat guy."

KLESMAN—PICTURE GROUP

Owner Tate tests her Mexican dishes

"Since I was a kid I have liked old persons," says Chico, who works in Pepe's. When he was a teen-ager, a day laborer in San Diego, his love interest was a woman of 42. "Actually, there's nothing better than old persons. They know how to be human beings. So I talked to her sons, and they said, 'Hey, it's your life. If you like her, why not?' I never been so happy since I came to the U.S. in 1974."

KLESMAN—PICTURE GROUP

Even Fairbanks is far away, let alone Mexico

"Chico loves children," Fran volunteers. "I had mine 29 and 30 years ago. But I gave him three grandchildren. I made him a grandfather. Sometimes I think of Chico outliving me. I bought a four-bedroom house in Anchorage. That's his security. After I'm gone, he can raise as many little Mexicans as he wants."

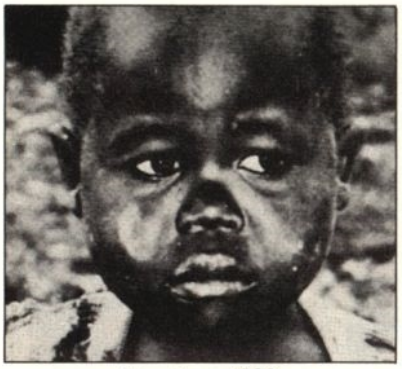
Other Mexicans have been a problem for the restaurateur. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has raided her a couple of times and taken away illegal aliens. One day, during a busy lunch at Christmastime, agents escorted ten employees away in handcuffs. "How am I to know?" the proprietor asks. "They change names on you. They have other people's green cards. I think I'm pretty clean right now, except for one, [she gives a name]. He's working for me for the second time. The first time he came to work for me he was [she gives another name]." She pays $9.15 an hour to start.

"I'm here for the money," says one of her cooks, who deplores his surroundings. "It's an ice desert, man."

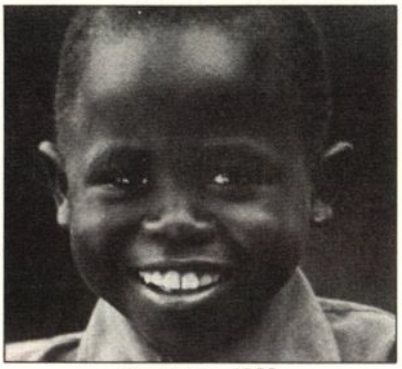
That it is, and a bizarre one at that. Barrow is the seat of the North Slope borough (called a county elsewhere, except Louisiana, where it is a parish), 88,000 sq. mi. that lie between the Brooks Range and the Arctic Ocean, which is frozen tight even now in June. Prudhoe Bay, full of oil, is 200 miles away. Money makes up for the bleakness. The town just built a $73 million school, Grades 7 through 12, with a swimming pool that leaks. The pool holds 160,000 gallons of water. Fran, who furnishes water at 16¢ a gallon, for a net profit of three-fourths of a cent a gallon, has filled it several times. Twenty-eight seniors graduated from the school this year. The building, approaching gluttony in design—it has a photography laboratory rivaled only by Eastman Kodak—is a reflection of local wealth. The town possesses 21 miles of unpaved roads; public transportation is one Mercedes-Benz bus, four Orions; they circle in the midnight sun.

And at times it seems everyone is soused. "People come up here and make money and destroy themselves," says Fran, who practices moderation. "They either drink or drug it all away." Two airlines service Barrow. Their cargo bays are filled with booze. The town is dry—it used to be wet, with a package store that deposited $4,000 a day in earnings in the Alaska National Bank of the North, the only bank in town, but people were getting drunk, staggering off on the tundra and freezing to death, so it was voted dry. Now the only way to get a drink is to order spirits in from outside. People call liquor stores that ser-

Here's my favorite before and after story.



Damiano, 1980



Damiano, 1983

"Look what an incredible difference my sponsorship has made in this little boy's life. His name is Damiano. He lives in a desperately impoverished East African country. And since 1980 I've sponsored him through Christian Children's Fund.

"In the beginning, he was a poor, sad-eyed boy, suffering from one of the very worst kinds of malnutrition. But thanks to CCF and my sponsorship, there's been a dramatic improvement—one that makes my heart swell with pride. Now, not only does Damiano get medical checkups and nutritious food—he also has school clothes and books. The big, healthy smile in the picture on the right tells the rest of the story.

"Now I want you to see for yourself just how far a little love can go. Only $18 a month, just 60¢ a day, can give a youngster like Damiano what he needs to grow and learn. So send in the coupon today—and soon you'll be able to tell a happy before and after story of your own."

Sally Struthers, National Chairperson

Send Your Love Around The World.

Dr. James MacCracken, Executive Director
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☐ I wish to sponsor any child who needs my help.
☐ I prefer to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl ☐ either in the country checked below:

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(If you would like to sponsor more than one child in any of the above countries, please specify the number in box[es] of your choice.)

PLEASE SEND MY INFORMATION PACKAGE TODAY.

☐ I want to learn more about the child assigned to me. If I accept the child, I'll send my first sponsorship payment of $18 within 10 days. Or I'll return the material so you can ask someone else to help.

☐ I prefer to send my first monthly payment now; enclosed is $18 for each child.

☐ I cannot sponsor a child but I'll give $_____ to the Christian Children's Fund Growth Fund (provides expansion of services in a hungry world).

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Christian Children's Fund, Inc.

vice the bush from Anchorage or Fairbanks, ask for E.S.P. (expedited small package) rate, and pay $36.75 freight for 50 lbs. of goods. Regular rate from Anchorage is $46.45 for twice as many pounds; double the jolt, slower to arrive. Perry Daniels, who drives for Fran, had ten cases of Budweiser coming in the other day.

"You see people stumbling along the roads," says Perry. "Hell, I've done it myself." Negotiating a trying intersection in his sewage truck, three-wheeled motorcycles coming at him like torpedoes, Perry recalls that Barrow put up some traffic signs about three years ago. "People just ran over them. Some of us try to remember what the laws used to be." Today there are no stop lights, no signs.

Last year one of Fran's trucks was bashed three times in two weeks by drunken drivers. "There is nothing you can do," she says. "Nobody has any insurance. But I love the place. Nowhere in the Lower 48 do you have this much opportunity."

She first pitched up here twelve years ago, drafting for a gas-drilling company. "I was knocked out by the potential. I'm a gutsy nut, more guts than brains, some say. But there were so many things that were not here, and what was here was a monopoly and crummy. There still is no Laundromat, no bowling alley, no skating rink." A skating rink in Alaska? Fran Tate sells ice cubes to Eskimos for $3 a bag and sells out frequently. If she has her way, one day there will be a skating rink in Barrow. For now, Pepe's thrives. (Mervin Setoyant, for instance, eats there four times a week. "It's something different," he says with a bored shrug, contemplating his usual order: No. 1 Jose's Plate—one taco, one cheese enchilada, one beef-bean burrito, Mexican rice, frijoles, salad, $15.75.)

But thriving exacts some cost in the Arctic Circle. "It's tough up here," says Fran, who lived in a garage on a dirt floor in 1977—she, two dachshunds and an electric heater. The inside temperature was 31°F below zero. She ran an outfit called Speedy Secretary then, but an IBM salesman blew through town, sold everybody a copier and put her out of business. "You can't run across the street to the hardware store for a fuse or anything. Nine times out of ten you have to send away for it."

Fran orders from Anchorage. One thousand and eighty dozen corn tortillas cost her $504. To ship them costs $443 more. Ten cases of takeout trays cost $265. The freight is $337. A rib-eye steak at Pepe's costs $23.75. A gallon of milk at the Staukpot (Big Store) costs $5.99; butter is $3.59 a pound. At Fran's next enterprise, Fran's Burger Barn, across from the $73 million school, home of the Barrow Whalers, all 260 of them, with a 21-inch color Sony television set in every classroom, a burger will cost $4.50, "fully decked, with french fries." After that, a jazz supper club. Her husband Chico, looking to put down roots, has joined the volunteer fire department and the Lions Club.

—By Gregory Jaynes

"Sometimes my day starts in the middle of the night."

Linda Kuzniar, Supervising Engineer, Commonwealth Edison

"It didn't seem that bad outside when I went to bed. But when the phone woke me—or the thunder, I think it was a tie—it felt like the world was coming to an end.

"It was the start of the July 4th weekend in 1983 and I'll never forget it. You just can't forget something that bad.

"We were up to our necks in a major storm, causing major damage. And a whole lot of Commonwealth Edison people on standby were being called in to restore the electric service it knocked out. Telephone operators, clerks, linemen, foremen, dispatchers, engineers, me. I was in charge.

"All we had to go on—all we ever have to go on—were phone calls. People reporting a pole broken on Cermak, a transformer blown on Sunnyside, a line down on Austin, and lights out everywhere.

"We had to analyze every call, one at a time. Look for patterns. Locate the trouble. Find out who was affected. Was it one house? One street? A neighborhood? The entire community?

"It's an enormous job. A methodical, painstaking process. Pure detective work. Not to mention plain old professionalism. What I mean is, no excuses, no complaints. Just get it done, and get it right.

"It's the only way a storm can belt a community for three days, knock out service to over half a million people, and almost all of them have it restored the very next day.

"We were ready. We're always ready."

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Doing things right.
And proud of it.

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Private war between wars

Illustration: Robert Andrew Parker

David Powlett-Jones is a most unusual teacher. He is a shell-shocked survivor of the carnage of World War I, a Welsh miner's son with a broad working-class accent who struggles to become a history instructor in a British school whose upper-class students are caught, like their teacher, in a nation undergoing wrenching social change.

His battle to overcome personal and professional problems is brilliantly brought to life on television in *To Serve Them All My Days*. Based on a frankly autobiographical novel of the same name, this 13-part series is what one critic called "totally satisfying TV, with heart, soul and credibility." It stars John Duttine as the struggling teacher Powlett-Jones—and brought Duttine England's Best Television Actor award for his performance.

Frank Middlemass portrays Algy Herries, headmaster when Powlett-Jones arrives at the school as a young officer. The comically good-natured Middlemass dominates every scene he plays.

In fact, the entire cast is grand and has been singled out as "uniformly superior...incredibly good." So, too, is the production, as you'd expect from "Masterpiece Theatre." It's a complex story of a teacher's lonely struggle with the nightmares of war and the equally vexing problems of peace. It ends with a personal triumph as Powlett-Jones finds compassion for the boys under his care, developing into a teacher with unique talents, capable of understanding a generation searching for liberation yet destined to fight still another war.

That's *To Serve Them All My Days*, television at its best. Brought to you by Mobil Corporation, this encore performance is on PBS Sunday evenings (check local listings for time). So tune in. It will serve to make your Sundays.

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TIME/JUNE 25, 1984

Changing His Tune

In a deft political move, Reagan sends summit signals to the Soviets

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

Politics and diplomacy: the President points to a reporter at last week's White House press conference, one of his most skillful

Exit Ronald Reagan, rough rider. No tough talk, no declarations that the Soviets are "the focus of evil in the modern world," no boasts that the "march of freedom and democracy . . . will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history." Enter Reagan the statesman, man of peace and reason, holding out an olive branch to the Kremlin. "I am willing to meet and talk any time," he declared at a White House press conference last week. "The door is open. Every once in a while, we're standing in the doorway, seeing if anyone's coming up the steps."

The clear implication was that if Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko would just climb up, the two world leaders could sit together at the summit and begin to thaw the big chill between the superpowers. Reagan's calming words marked a clear departure from his old hard line against a summit. But few experts expected the new tone to lead to a superpower sitdown any time soon. Despite some conciliatory words of their own, the Soviets remain wary, distant adversaries (*see* WORLD).

Reagan's softer line was not aimed so much at Moscow as at the American electorate. If he has a political vulnerability, it is the state of relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., which are cooler than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. "The risk we face now is that the people view the President as being locked in concrete and against negotiations with the Soviets," says a senior White House adviser. In taking a more conciliatory tack, he said, Reagan was "making sure the Democrats don't have an issue." At his press conference, Reagan insisted, "One thing let me make clear. I'm not going to play political games with this subject." White House operatives took a less noble view of the exercise. "We got just what we wanted," said one. "The headlines read REAGAN WANTS A SUMMIT MEETING."

In fact, he does not, at least not until after the election. A pre-election summit might turn out to be politically risky, his advisers believe. Some voters would see it as a campaign gimmick, and conservatives might accuse him of groveling before the Soviets. Moreover, a face-to-face encounter would give the Soviets a chance to cause mischief. They could feign interest in a summit, then stay home because of some trumped-up U.S. offense, or walk out of the talks with words of derision for the President. Either way, Reagan would have trouble repairing the damage before November.

Democrats were understandably skeptical about Reagan's transformation. Said House Speaker Tip O'Neill: "Reagan has built a wall around them and thrown brickbats. Now he wants to reach through a crack in the wall and extend the hand of fellowship." Reagan's likely Democratic opponent, Walter Mondale, has long pledged to make unconditional talks with Kremlin leaders his first priority after Inauguration Day. He derided Reagan's

motives: "I intend to be a President who will lead us toward a safer world from the first day I'm in office, and not from the first day I start my campaign."

Though his press conference words were mellower, Reagan did not remove his standing preconditions for talks, namely that the groundwork be carefully prepared and that the two sides be well along toward some sort of agreement. Reagan indicated that the agenda could be "general," but he repeated his insistence that it could not be open-ended and that the meeting must "hold out the promise then that something might be accomplished." Reagan believes that "get-acquainted" meetings between Khrushchev and Kennedy in 1961 and Johnson and Kosygin in 1967 produced no results, and indeed heightened tensions.*

The Soviets could, of course, call Reagan's bluff and offer to sit down before November. "We'd say, 'Let's have a summit,' " says a White House aide. But the Reaganauts are confident that the Soviets will not ask. "They have shown no interest at all," says the adviser. The Soviets have no desire to do anything that might help re-elect their nemesis. In any case, not enough time remains to agree on an agenda.

At his press conference, Reagan alluded to "quiet diplomacy" behind the scenes, and said that he had written Chernenko. But he conceded that the diplomacy had not moved very far. Had a summit agenda been discussed? "No," allowed the President. "Much of the communication has been simply on the broad relationship between two countries." In fact, Administration officials say that a summit has not even been mentioned to the Soviets. They add that there has been only one exchange of correspondence between Chernenko and Reagan in the past two months, and it was not a personal note but a formal government-to-government letter.

Try as he might to be nice to the Soviets, Reagan could not constrain himself when a reporter at the press conference suggested that he had heightened tensions with his previous hard-line rhetoric. "Well, if I've been too harsh," he answered sarcastically, "maybe if I apologize for shooting down the KAL 707 [actually a 747] . . . maybe they'll warm up." The President, who earlier last week had in a private Oval Office conversation described the Soviet system as "Mickey Mouse," insisted that he had not gone out of his way to "call them names." He added: "I don't think that I've said anything that was as fiery as them referring to the funeral service for the Unknown Soldier as a 'militaristic orgy.' If we're going to talk about comparisons of rhetoric, they've topped me in spades."

*The Berlin Wall crisis followed the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting, though the two leaders did agree to defuse an East-West confrontation by seeking to make Laos a neutral country. Johnson failed to persuade Kosygin to cancel deployment of an antiballistic-missile system.

The Soviets also were trying last week to depict themselves as conciliatory. At a press conference eleven hours before Reagan's, chief Kremlin Spokesman Leonid Zamyatin raised similar hopes for a summit. "We want to have negotiations with the U.S. on a whole complex of issues," he said. But like Reagan, he did not drop the condition that the agenda be carefully worked out beforehand. Also like Reagan, he was primarily concerned with imagery. Neither side wants to be seen by the rest of the world as outrageously bellicose; each accuses the other of being the intransigent party. Reagan said that while he was ready to talk, "so far they have been the ones not responding." Earlier in the week, Chernenko had scoffed that Reagan "does not even want to discuss" a Soviet proposal to ban antisatellite weapons. The White House has maintained that such a treaty would be unverifiable, and that the U.S. must first catch up with Soviet antisatellite technology. But at his press conference Reagan said, "We don't have a flat no on that yet . . . We haven't slammed the door on that at all."

Reagan is under pressure from all sides to keep any door open. At the economic summit in London, the leaders of the world's major industrial democracies fretted over the dangerous state of U.S.-Soviet relations. At one point, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau urged Reagan, "For heaven's sake, Ron, do a bit more." Reagan removed his eyeglasses and shot back, "Damn it, Pierre, what do you want me to do? We'll go sit with empty chairs to get those guys back to the table." Early last week legislators in Reagan's own party implored him to seek a summit with Chernenko—without a formal agenda. Said Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker: "Let's just get together and talk about the world situation, because we've got to figure out some way not to blow each other up." Noted Illinois Senator Charles Percy: "It's been five years since we met with our chief adversaries." The lawmakers described their plea to Reagan at a press conference outside the White House, infuriating the President's advisers, who felt that the G.O.P. leaders had been indiscreet.

Ever since the Soviets abandoned the strategic-arms talks last December, Reagan has repeatedly invited them to return. He has offered to open negotiations to curb chemical weapons, and responded favorably to a longtime Soviet request for a treaty banning the first use of force. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Soviets do continue to discuss grain trading, ways to upgrade the "hot line," and how to deal with incidents between their navies at sea. No progress has been made on the crucial negotiations to reduce nuclear arms, but it is significant that Zamyatin did not declare as a precondition to a summit that the U.S. remove its missiles from Europe (the Soviets broke off the intermediate-range arms talks when the U.S. deployed its Pershing IIs). It is equally noteworthy that Reagan did not insist that the Soviets return to the arms talks before he would go to a summit.

Until last week, the Soviets and the Democrats both thought they had Reagan pinned down as an erratic, trigger-happy leader. But like a wily chess player, Reagan has now maneuvered out of check. As long as U.S.-Soviet relations stay frozen and arms negotiations remain in limbo, the "war-peace" issue will be a liability for Reagan. But after his deft performance last week, neither the Soviets nor Walter Mondale can credibly label him a warmonger. It is their move in the game of public perception, and it will take a clever gambit to get Reagan back on the defensive. The President may be an ideologue, but he is also a highly pragmatic politician. Especially with an election drawing near. —*By Evan Thomas.*

Reported by Douglas Brew/Washington

CYNTHIA JOHNSON

Putting on the pressure: Senators Howard Baker and Charles Percy after meeting Reagan

Baker: "Let's talk, because we've got to figure out some way not to blow each other up."

Yankee Doodle Candidate

The President rides high on feelings of optimism and patriotism

CAMPAIGN '84

He toasts Chinese leaders in the Great Hall of the People. He mourns at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. He chokes up on the D-day beaches of Normandy. He leads the pomp and ceremony at the economic summit in London. With television cameras following his every move, Ronald Reagan seems to glide from one glorious "photo opportunity" to another.

As Election Day draws nearer, Reagan will seek the video limelight even more. On the Fourth of July, he will start the Daytona Beach Firecracker 400 stock-car race by telephone from Air Force One. The President's jet is scheduled to land at the airport within camera range of the track, and if all goes smoothly, the onetime sportscaster might even climb into the announcer's booth and call a few laps. Smiles a Reagan campaign official: "That ought to be seen at some point by millions of good, solid, Middle Americans." But that is nothing. Some 2 billion are expected to see him as he opens the Olympic Games in a flag-waving extravaganza on July 28 at Los Angeles.

Such scenes could hardly do more to buttress Reagan's message that "America is back" on top—and that he is the man to keep it there. Unlike most politicians, Reagan is able to wrap himself in the flag without seeming hokey or opportunistic. His political ads on TV tell Americans (shown getting married, moving into new homes, restoring the Statue of Liberty) that they are "feeling good again," and that Reagan is the reason why. Many Americans believe it. To them, Reagan is both the cause and repository of the nation's renewed sense of optimism and patriotism. Says Indiana's Republican Governor Robert Orr: "He takes the high road in that happy and enthusiastic way of his; people can't help but respond positively." Agrees Rahm Emanuel, a Democratic political consultant in Illinois: "He shows a confidence just in the way he stands. He is tall in the saddle. Ronald Reagan is a ball game and a picnic on a weekend in July."

Reagan has tapped a longing for national pride that was deadened by Viet Nam and Watergate. Just how deep that feeling runs can be seen in the outpouring of emotion that is greeting the Olympic torch as it wends its way across the American heartland *(see following story)*. "The country has wanted a reason to feel confident," says Republican Political Strategist John Sears. "We've felt badly about ourselves for ten or 15 years."

Reagan's magic seems to be working abroad as well as at home. In the past, many foreign leaders privately scorned the former actor as a Hollywood cowboy, a naïf at statecraft. Yet even the most skeptical heads of government at the Western economic summit were reassured by Reagan's poised leadership style. Out of both courtesy and pragmatism, they were reluctant to tangle with a politician running so strongly for re-election. Reagan returned home last week with his image as statesman enhanced.

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

Snapping off a salute on his homecoming from the summit

"A ball game and a picnic on a weekend in July."

Reagan's roll could grind to a halt, however, if the economic recovery fizzles. "The economy is the ball game this year. Everything depends on it," concedes a top Reagan aide. Imagery is fragile. Jimmy Carter seemed refreshingly down-home in his blue jeans and cardigan until inflation rocketed and the Ayatullah Khomeini seized Iran and the hostages; then he looked to many like a peanut farmer in over his head. Reagan cuts a fine figure at ceremonies, but in hard times he might seem much too blithe and out of touch. The Democrats will argue, of course, that hard times are looming, that the big deficit and rising interest rates presage economic disaster. "The fear factor is important," says Democratic Pollster Peter Hart. "People will ask, Will I be unemployed in the next twelve months?" Nominee-apparent Walter Mondale will try to paint Reagan as dangerously detached, babbling happy talk while the storm gathers.

The Democrats' Cassandra strategy could fall on deaf ears, or even backfire. As Carter discovered from the reaction to his ill-conceived "malaise" speech in 1979, it is harder to run on bad news than good. Furthermore, Reagan will try to pin any economic woes on big-spending Democrats and the failed policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration. He has only to quote Gary Hart.

Reagan seems to relish the coming duel with Mondale. At press conferences, the President, 73 and hard of hearing, sometimes appears inarticulate and unsure of the facts. But at last week's session he was feisty and sharp. Questioned about Carter's prediction that Reagan might try to duck a debate with Mondale, the President fairly jumped at the chance to mimic his devastating line from the 1980 debate with Carter. Declared Reagan: "There he goes again!" The President then nodded with zest: "I would look forward to a debate." He smoothly exploited the advantages of incumbency. Questioned about the fairness of the Reagan Revolution, he insisted that the Administration is "helping more people and paying more money than ever in the history of this country in all of those social programs." He allowed that 850,000 presumably undeserving people had been cut off from food stamps, but insisted that more than that number of needy people get them now.

Reagan's standing within his own party is at a three-year high, and his message continues to play well with a surprising number of Democrats. G.O.P. polls show him with an approval rating of 65%, and other polls put him 8 points ahead of Mondale. "It's beyond our wildest expectations," says a top White House official. "It's so high that it's scary."

The Reaganauts do not expect the giddy numbers to last. Indeed, they predict that the race will be tight by Labor Day, after Mondale has a chance to pull the Democrats together and focus his attacks on Reagan. The Reagan camp fears the unexpected: a sudden economic downturn, a foreign policy upheaval, a blunder by their own man. For now, it seems that the race is Reagan's to lose. Says Republican Pollster Robert Teeter: "Mondale is going to have to draw the political equivalent of an inside straight." As they watch Reagan celebrate the nation's upbeat mood on the evening news, the Democrats must be wondering if the deck is not stacked against them. —***By Evan Thomas. Reported by Douglas Brew/Washington, with other bureaus***

Summons to North Oaks

Mondale seeks a running mate and party unity

CAMPAIGN '84

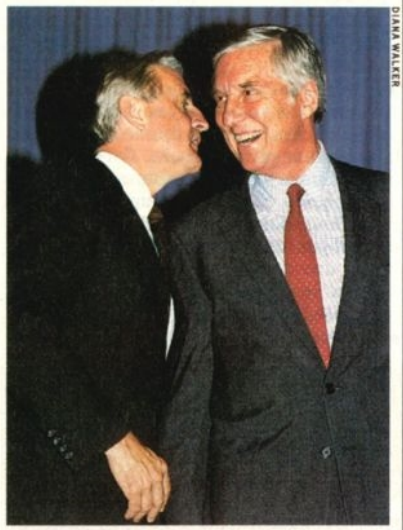
Help Wanted: Someone "to advise the President from a national perspective, help break through the bureaucracy and solve complex problems, speak for the President on Capitol Hill and help advance his legislative program. Must be ready to assume the duties of the toughest job on earth." Applicants will be interviewed by Walter Mondale in North Oaks, Minn. By invitation only.

The Democratic Party's probable (and self-proclaimed) presidential candidate last week outlined his job description for a running mate, and the prime prospects awaited their pilgrimage to North Oaks. Despite the slightly imperious overtones of the summoning, it promises to be an ego trip for the invitees, who will bask in press attention and at least fleetingly enjoy the heady notion that he or she could be tapped for the nation's second-highest office. Walter Mondale, recalling his own trek to Plains, Ga., eight years ago, was following the same selection process that had taken him to the vice presidency and put him in a position to issue the invitations now.

New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, who heads the party's platform committee, visited the St. Paul suburb on Saturday, ostensibly to talk about platform planks. She is to be followed this week by Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen and San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

The most intriguing question is whether Colorado Senator Gary Hart, who is having trouble adjusting to his apparent status as an also-ran, would take (or be offered) the No. 2 spot. His aides said it was unlikely he would submit to an interview process that smacked of supplication, but they were split on whether he ought to join the ticket if asked. Advisers Patrick Caddell, Kathy Bushkin and John McEvoy contend that Hart's future would best be served by becoming Mondale's partner in their party's challenge to Ronald Reagan, even if the effort fails. Oliver Henkel, Frank Mankiewicz and Jack Quinn still foresee the possibility that a political disaster could cripple Mondale before the convention. They want their man positioned to seize the moment by continuing his nomination battle at full steam.

According to a new Gallup poll, 59% of Democrats want a Mondale-Hart ticket, compared with only 27% who prefer Mondale with another running mate. The same poll was bad news for the Hart advisers who still hope to draw delegates away from Mondale by arguing that the Senator would run a stronger race against Reagan. It showed the President ahead of Mondale, 53% to 44%, and leading Hart by virtually the same margin, 54% to 43%.



DIANA WALKER

Mondale and Bentsen at Houston dinner

Among the first of many ego trips.

Hart did not seem anxious to pave the way for party unity when he appeared in Washington before Ferraro's platform committee. Although Hart did not mention Mondale, he urged the committee to reject "the traditional approach of some in our party who promise everything to everyone." He warned that "the Democratic Party cannot win if it is beholden to the old arrangements." Specifically, Hart opposed "a protectionist trade policy based on the proposed domestic content bill," which would require a share of American materials and labor in autos sold in the U.S. Mondale has firmly endorsed such legislation.

One of Hart's unity-minded advisers expressed disappointment in his candidate's platform rhetoric: "I don't understand why he said those things. He's supposed to be running a reconciliation show now, but it's hard to recognize." More predictably, a Mondale aide complained: "Hart knows that a talk about the old arrangements is taken by everybody as code for the AFL-CIO leadership. It's like waving a red flag in front of them." The two campaign chiefs—Henkel for Hart, Robert Beckel for Mondale—held private conversations in search of a truce.

An even knottier problem, however, was the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who has been alternately conciliatory and confrontational in both his private meetings and public statements. Jackson, who also met with Beckel last week, is annoyed that he has not had any private meetings with Mondale. After Jackson carried his complaints about "unfair" election practices to Capitol Hill, House Speaker Tip O'Neill somewhat grudgingly agreed to appoint a commission of congressional Democrats, chaired by Arizona's Morris Udall, to study the issues. Jackson argued once again, and validly, that the unfairness of the delegate selection was shown by the fact that he had received 21% of Democratic primary votes but won only about 8% of the delegates. In response to claims that the rules should not be changed after the game is over, Jackson huffed, "There is no statute of limitations on stealing."

Jackson seemed paradoxically uninterested in making a personal effort to change the rules. He indicated that he will carry on with his quixotic foreign policy ventures by leaving for Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba this Saturday, thus missing crucial meetings of the rules committee. Other black leaders will carry the case for strong platform planks on such issues as affirmative action in jobs and integration in public schools. "Jackson hasn't been talking about black issues," contends a black political scientist. "He's been talking about *his* issues."

Mondale last week showed a new willingness to distance himself from Jackson's delegate protest. "I think the rules are just fine," he said. "They were developed by a broad cross section of Democrats, and I intend to stick by them." He said he was willing "to do many, many other things" to accommodate Jackson, "but not what's been suggested so far." Mondale's unity drive fared much better with former primary foe George McGovern, who not only endorsed him but predicted that the Minnesotan might turn out to be "the best President since Franklin Roosevelt." That is the kind of talk Mondale would like to hear from all of his party's leaders. ***—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by David Beckwith/ Washington and Jack E. White with Jackson***

TERRY ASHE

Hart at the platform hearings

BRUCE TALAMON

Jackson making pitch on planks

"We Are Overwhelmed"

With illegal immigration rising, Congress belatedly tries to act

By twilight, about 300 illegal immigrants had massed on "the soccer field," a patch of rock-strewn brown earth halfway up Otay Mesa and just across the U.S. border from a rundown section of Tijuana, Mexico. Some bought tacos from a vendor who wheeled a white cart through the crowd; others burned old tires to cook makeshift meals before pushing off into the rattlesnake-infested canyons leading toward San Ysidro, Calif., and points north. Two dozen agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), deployed in Dodge Ram trucks on surrounding hillsides, squinted through binoculars to count the aliens and prepare to intercept them.

BRENT CLINGMAN

Mexicans hiding in the trunk of a car stopped by the border patrol on Interstate 5 in California

As the light faded, groups of *pollos* (chickens, a slang term for the immigrants, who tend to travel in flocks) filed into the canyons and the chase began. A border patrolman looking through an infrared nightscope at a hillside spotted four human shapes and summoned a helicopter hovering over a nearby ravine, but by the time the chopper arrived they were gone. Another agent was about to leap out of his truck and arrest three illegals in Moody's Canyon when his radio crackled out news of bigger game: a dozen immigrants heading toward the fields abutting Otay Mesa Road. The patrolman gunned his Ram along rutted dirt paths, dodging boulders placed by *pollos* to slow him down. When he reached Otay Mesa Road, however, his quarry too had disappeared, presumably picked up by smugglers driving cars or trucks toward *El Norte*.

The illegal visitors had one more major obstacle to pass: an INS checkpoint on Interstate 5, where agents kept a sharp watch for vehicles heavily weighted toward the rear or bouncing oddly. Those are clues that *pollos* may be hiding in the trunks of cars or under the floorboards of false-bottom pickup trucks. On this particular Sunday night, agents working the 3 p.m.-to-11 p.m. shift rounded up 155 aliens and took them to a detention center. INS guards then put the *pollos* aboard buses, drove them to a border crossing and herded them through a wire gate back into Mexico. Nearly all would try to slip across the border again, many only hours later the same night. They would keep coming until they eventually escaped to pursue the irresistible lure of jobs that are unavailable in Mexico. Says Alan Eliason, chief of border patrols in that section of California: "We are overwhelmed. Congress has to come to grips with the problem."

Belatedly, Congress is trying. After long hesitation, the House last week began debate on a bill, already passed twice by the Senate, that is supposed at least to slow the torrent of illegal immigrants across the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexican border. A floor vote on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill (named for its co-authors, Republican Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming and Democratic Congressman Romano Mazzoli of Kentucky) is expected this week. President Reagan put in a plug for passage at his news conference Thursday night. Said he, with a touch of hyperbole: "We have lost control of our own borders, and no nation can do that and survive."

Simpson-Mazzoli is an intricate compromise, combining amnesty for many illegal immigrants already in the U.S. with a system of fines against employers who hire future evaders of the border patrols. The employer sanctions are supposed to dry up the supply of jobs for *pollos*. The bill has been attacked as both too soft and too tough, and denounced as "racist" by some Hispanic leaders. Indeed, its opponents span the ideological spectrum from Jesse Helms on the Republican right to Jesse Jackson on the Democratic left, and include both Walter Mondale and Gary Hart. Less political critics question whether Simpson-Mazzoli can be effectively enforced; some are even afraid that the promise of amnesty might draw in more illegal immigrants than the fines against employers would discourage.

None of which should be any surprise; just about every aspect of the immigration question is enveloped in emotional dispute, down to the basic numbers. Estimates of how many illegal aliens are already in the U.S. run as high as 15 million; the Census Bureau's guess is somewhere between 3.5 million and 6 million. But there is no question that the tide is rising. The INS, which generally counts itself lucky to nab half the incoming aliens even temporarily, tabulated a record 1,251,357 arrests during fiscal 1983, up 22% from the previous year and just about double the figure a decade earlier. In the current fiscal year, which ends Sept. 30, arrests have increased an additional 10%.

A growing number of immigrants are Salvadorans and other Central Americans fleeing guerrilla war and political oppression as well as economic deprivation. But the largest group is composed of Mexicans who see little chance of earning a satisfactory living in their crowded homeland. To enter the U.S. most pay $250 to $350 each to smuggler-guides called coyotes, who sometimes rob or beat them. If they elude the INS, the immigrants usually can find jobs in an expanding Sunbelt economy. If employers sometimes pay them less than the $3.35 an hour minimum wage—well, they still earn substantially more than they could in Mexico, where the minimum wage is the equivalent of 55¢ an hour for those lucky enough to find work. (No less than half the Mexican labor force is either totally unemployed or can find only part-time work.)

The economic effects of the illegal immigration are fiercely debated, and both sides offer primarily anecdotal evidence. Labor leaders and other backers of Simpson-Mazzoli often view the aliens as a rising menace to both the jobs and the pay of U.S. citizens. Says Roger Conner, director of the Washington-based Federation for American Immigration Reform: "I talked the other day to a Los Angeles contractor who told me he had just replaced a $20-an-hour American mason with an illegal $5-an-hour mason who is just as good. If nothing is done, wages for American workers will erode, and resentment among Americans will build dangerously."

Defenders of the *pollos* claim that most take menial work as farm laborers, janitors, hospital orderlies, chambermaids or dishwashers. "The truth is that no one else

wants these jobs," says Wayne Cornelius, director of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies in La Jolla, Calif. He cites a survey of 13 Los Angeles–area firms whose illegal employees were returned to Mexico after INS raids. Eventually four-fifths of them slipped back across the border and reclaimed their jobs, which their employers were not able to fill.

Hispanic leaders charge bitterly that alarm over illegal immigration is being spurred not by economic pain but by simple dislike of people with dark skins who speak Spanish. "There is a paranoia in this country directed against Hispanics," says Arnoldo Torres, national executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens. But there is a legitimate concern too about whether the U.S. can absorb immigrants at the rate they are now flooding in. Last week that worry led the House to take up Simpson-Mazzoli, despite the long reluctance of many Congressmen to deal with such an emotional issue.

Provisions of the complex bill range from funds for a 45% increase in manpower for the INS border guards to permission for farmers to import legally each year perhaps as many as 500,000 migrants, who would work as long as eleven months picking crops. But the core of the bill is contained in two sections:

Amnesty. The House version would permit illegal aliens to claim legal status as permanent residents of the U.S. if they could prove that they had been living in the U.S. continuously since before Jan. 1, 1982. The Senate-passed bill contains a more complicated, two-step amnesty provision. The reasoning in both cases: since it would be impossible to round up and deport every illegal alien, those immigrants who have demonstrated a long-term commitment to the U.S. should be allowed to come out of the shadows and live openly under American law. Also, though proponents rarely say so, some form of amnesty is thought necessary to placate the Hispanic voters that both parties will be courting during the presidential campaign.

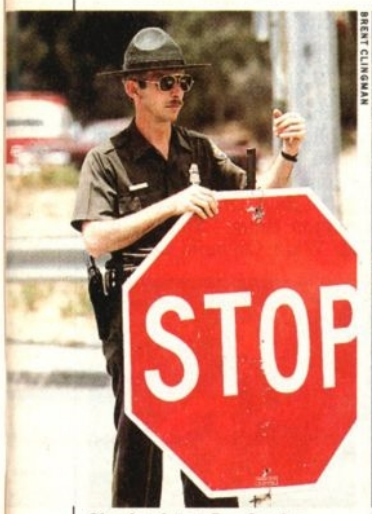
The House bill would make aliens wait five years after recognition as legal residents before they could qualify for federally funded welfare programs, such as food stamps and Medicaid. That would hold down the cost of the bill to the Federal Treasury, which is estimated at $8 billion over five years. Nonetheless, many conservatives argue that it is morally wrong to roll out the welcome mat for people who deliberately broke the law. They have enough adherents among Sunbelt Democrats to threaten a close House vote on the amnesty provision this week.

Employer Sanctions. Business people would be required to make every job applicant produce a U.S. passport, birth certificate or Social Security card and one other document, such as a driver's license or work permit, to indicate that he or she is a legal resident of the U.S. Anyone caught hiring "undocumented" applicants would be warned, then fined up to $2,000 for each such worker on the payroll.

This is the most bitterly disputed provision in the entire bill. Some civil liberties activists fear that the demand for documentation constitutes a step toward a fascist-style system of national identity cards. Hispanic leaders argue that biased employers would refuse to hire any workers with Spanish surnames or accents and, if challenged under civil rights laws, would claim they suspected that the applicants' documentation was phony. On a key vote last week, however, the House rejected, 304 to 120, an attempt by California Democrat Edward Roybal to strike employer fines from the bill. Backers of Simpson-Mazzoli did permit opponents to delete criminal penalties, including up to a year in jail, for employers who hire undocumented workers. But House leaders expect some form of criminal sanction to be restored in any bill that clears the Senate-House conference.

For all that, dispassionate critics of Simpson-Mazzoli seriously doubt that its approach can work. Some employers, they suspect, would willingly pay fines in order to continue hiring cheap immigrant labor, and the aliens could easily buy forged identity documents. Eleven states already have legislated penalties against employers who hire illegal immigrants, with little or no effect. California has had such a law on its books since 1971, and it probably draws more *pollos* than any other state. Moreover, these critics say, even a limited amnesty would set a precedent that might lure still more aliens across the border in the hope that if they could evade the INS long enough, they too might someday become legal residents. Immigration experts in Texas apprehensively note that in the past, false rumors of amnesty have spurred an immediate jump in the numbers of aliens heading north.

The opponents of Simpson-Mazzoli, however, have been unable to offer any convincing alternative. Some contend that tighter enforcement of wage-and-hour laws in the U.S. and beefing up the INS border patrols could slow the tide of aliens. That seems unlikely; Cornelius, for one, believes that only "full-scale militarization" of the U.S.-Mexican border, a step that nobody advocates, could do the job. Others contend the real solution would be to build up the Mexican economy so that it could offer good jobs to those now crossing the border. But that is wishful thinking: American voters are in no mood to approve the enormous foreign-aid sums that would be required, and even if they were, there is no guarantee that any such effort could cure Mexico's many economic problems. In the end the Simpson-Mazzoli approach seems likely to get an unenthusiastic go-ahead for the simplest reason: there is a growing consensus, right or wrong, that something has to be done, and nobody can think of anything better. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Carolyn Lesh/Washington and Richard Woodbury/San Diego*



BRENT CLINGMAN

Checkpoint at San Onofre

BULLARD—PICTURE GROUP

SMITH—WHEELER PICTURES

Alien workers arrested during raid on printing plant in Anaheim

Nightscope watch on the border

Kindling the Country's Heart

The Olympic torch burns brightly and warmly

Perhaps what is most surprising is the tears. Such as those that came to the eyes of the young boy watching from a bed in front of a Connecticut hospital when the runner paused by his side and let him hold the torch. Even Joey Glenn, a 15-year-old in a Van Halen T shirt who hardly seems the crying type, admitted that the sight of the proud flame made him feel like "crying for America" as he watched from the dry roadside in Collinsville, Texas. Almost as surprising is the excitement: the deaf children in West Virginia who each got to pass the torch, then broke into a flurry of sign language; the thundering chants of "U-S-A! U-S-A!" that erupted in St. Louis; the 4,000 people in Oklahoma City who crowded so close to Runner Ken Hardwick that he could only walk his route.

What started as a venturesome symbol, attacked as blatant commercialism by the Soviets when they boycotted the Summer Games, has become a national phenomenon, provoking an outpouring of good feeling for community and country. Flown to the U.S. in miner's lamps from Greece, the Olympic flame is being carried on a serpentine 82-day, 8,700-mile journey through 33 states to the 1984 Summer Games in Los Angeles. The runners include more than 200 regulars (a team of experienced amateur runners sponsored by A T & T who form the core of the relay) and 3,500 local torchbearers who have raised or donated $3,000 for the privilege of carrying the flame for one kilometer (five-eighths of a mile). The money that is raised goes to athletic programs for youth clubs and the Special Olympics. "I think it's all right," drawled D.L. Morton, 80, of Tioga, Texas. "Patriotism. You hardly see it any more."

The runners are frequently besieged by people seeking autographs or taking pictures, eager to touch the torch or even its bearer. Roberta Ciccarelli, 38, a schoolteacher in Blairsville, Ga., raised $2,150 by knocking on doors in her town of 530, and her husband put up the rest. When she trotted through Blairsville, 1,000 people lined the route, cheering her on. "I kept hearing people yelling my name, 'Go, Robbie!' and 'Come on, Mrs. Ciccarelli!' I don't remember breathing. My lungs didn't hurt, my legs didn't hurt. It was like nothing I had ever experienced."

Nancy Nix, 9, of Gainesville, Ga., announced to her mother at breakfast one day that she wanted to be part of the Olympics. After Mrs. Nix persuaded A T & T to waive its requirement that runners be ten years old or older, she and her daughter set about raising the money. "We baked Easter cakes, Mother's Day cakes, pound cakes and sheet cakes," Nancy's mother recalls. Nancy made some of her own crafts and set about selling them to her neighbors. When her turn came, she took off so fast that she passed up the press truck and had to be called back. "I felt nervous," she said afterward. "There were a lot of people. But I was proud."

Jay Rowell, 14, of Richardson, Texas, whose legs are crippled, carried the torch last week in a specially designed wheelchair. A local auto dealer had donated the money for his kilometer. "I pushed around my block four times—that's three miles—last night to get in shape," Jay said proudly.

Equally part of the pageant are the spectators who gather at lonely crossroads and along city streets, waving flags by day and holding candles at night. There is a ripple of electricity as a runner is spotted, and applause begins to build. Some of those who came to watch spontaneously start to run too. "We got a bunch of runners alongside the road here," radioed a worried local policeman as the torch went through Denton County, Texas, last week. Replied one of the coordinators in the caravan: "Ten-four. That's been pretty well a common thing." Small kindnesses abound. When Olympic Committee Staffer Bill Schulz, 27, accidentally left his work folder at a market in Pauls Valley, Okla., the manager drove more than 60 miles to catch up with the caravan and return the folder. One Kentucky woman insisted on taking home a runner's laundry and cleaning it for her.

The Olympic torch has engendered a sense of community, but the emotions can also be personal and solitary. In front of a Connecticut nursing home, an elderly woman trembled as the runner paused and held the torch toward her. She kissed it. When Kerry Blette, 40, finished his run through Collinsville, he held out the torch to Edgar McKee, 9, who came from nearby Sherman, Texas. It weighs 4½ lbs., and inscribed on the side is CITIUS, ALTIUS, FORTIUS (swifter, higher, stronger). Edgar grasped it with both hands and stared in wide-eyed silence. ***—By Jacob V. Lamar Jr. Reported by David S. Jackson/Dallas and Kelly Scott/Atlanta***

KATZ—BLACK STAR

In Tioga, Texas: ripples of electricity

KATZ—BLACK STAR

An outpouring of patriotic feeling: the caravan approaches Dallas

KATZ—BLACK STAR

Cameras ready, a family watches a runner near the Oklahoma border

American Notes

ARMS TRADE

Window-Shopping for Weapons

Zhang Aiping with Weinberger

The visit to Washington last week of Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping was attended by a minimum of fanfare. His mission: to work out a deal with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to buy U.S. weapons. But the talks went little beyond the agreements made during Weinberger's trip to China last fall and Reagan's visit in April. The Chinese reaffirmed their interest in TOW antitank and Hawk antiaircraft missiles, but there were no specific commitments accompanying the "agreement in principle" reached last week.

In fact, the arms talks were shadowed by a sudden impasse in negotiations to sell nuclear-power-plant technology to the Chinese, the most substantive accord of Reagan's trip. The President had relied on statements from Premier Zhao Ziyang that Peking would comply with U.S. nuclear nonproliferation policy. But reports suggesting that the Chinese had aided Pakistan's nuclear-weapons program led Reagan to seek further assurances. Zhang, said one U.S. official, "blew his top." Even so, Zhang took off on a two-week tour of America's arsenal that includes F-16 assembly lines in Fort Worth and the space-shuttle complex at California's Vandenberg Air Force Base.

TERRORISM

A Question of Definitions

Virtually all agree on one thing about terrorism: they are against it. The trouble is in defining it. Secretary of State George Shultz ran into that difficulty with the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week when he testified in favor of Administration-backed proposals to combat the scourge. The legislators voiced few objections to a bill that would give rewards of up to $500,000 to those who provide information about terrorist acts. But they balked at one that would empower the Secretary to designate any government as "terrorist" and make it a crime for an American to furnish training or support for its activities or to act "in concert" with it.

Congressmen peppered Shultz with problematic cases. Would Saudi Arabia be considered guilty of terrorism because it helps fund the Palestine Liberation Organization? (If so, might the U.S. Government fall prey to the bill's criminal penalty for having sold the Saudis F-15 jets and other weapons?) What definitions would distinguish between Afghan rebels and Nicaraguan *contras* on one hand, and Salvadoran rebels on the other? Shultz's answers were hardly illuminating: "I think the concept must be different between an insurgency that is open and a terrorist organization and action." The Congressmen seemed confused. "We have to proceed with care," Shultz concluded. "That is the message being given to us in these hearings."

LABOR

Out of the Ashes of PATCO

For the illegal strike in 1981 that led to the mass firing of 11,400 of its members, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) paid the price of failure: it disbanded. For the past three years, as their ranks were gradually rebuilt to a current level of 12,000, most federal air controllers have been without union representation. Now, just as the Federal Aviation Administration is preparing to lift the last of the strike-related traffic restrictions from the airways, three groups of controllers in New York and the Washington area have petitioned to reunionize. Their complaints: overwork and FAA mismanagement, the same charges that led to the PATCO strike.

The return of the skies to full capacity may be part of the problem. "There are tremendous amounts of overtime and rushed training," charges David Kushner, of the American Federation of Government Employees. FAA officials have not yet decided whether to challenge the calls for union elections. But FAA Chief Donald Engen insists, "The system is safe."

INTELLIGENCE

Challenging the CIA's Evidence

Ex-Analyst MacMichael

The Reagan Administration has long claimed that many of the arms used by rebel forces in El Salvador are supplied by the Marxist-led Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Washington justifies its support of the antigovernment *contra* forces largely as a way to stanch this flow. Last week a former CIA analyst made the unsettling charge that for the past three years the agency has been unable to produce hard evidence that such shipments are still occurring.

David MacMichael, 56, who until April 1983 served as a CIA estimates officer specializing in Central American and Caribbean affairs, claims that intelligence reports of cross-border arms shipments "fell off to nothing" after the failure of the Salvadoran guerrillas' "final offensive" in the spring of 1981. Now, he says, he believes the Administration has "systematically misrepresented Nicaraguan involvement in the supply of arms to Salvadoran guerrillas to justify its efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government." Secretary of State George Shultz says of MacMichael, "He must be living in some other world."

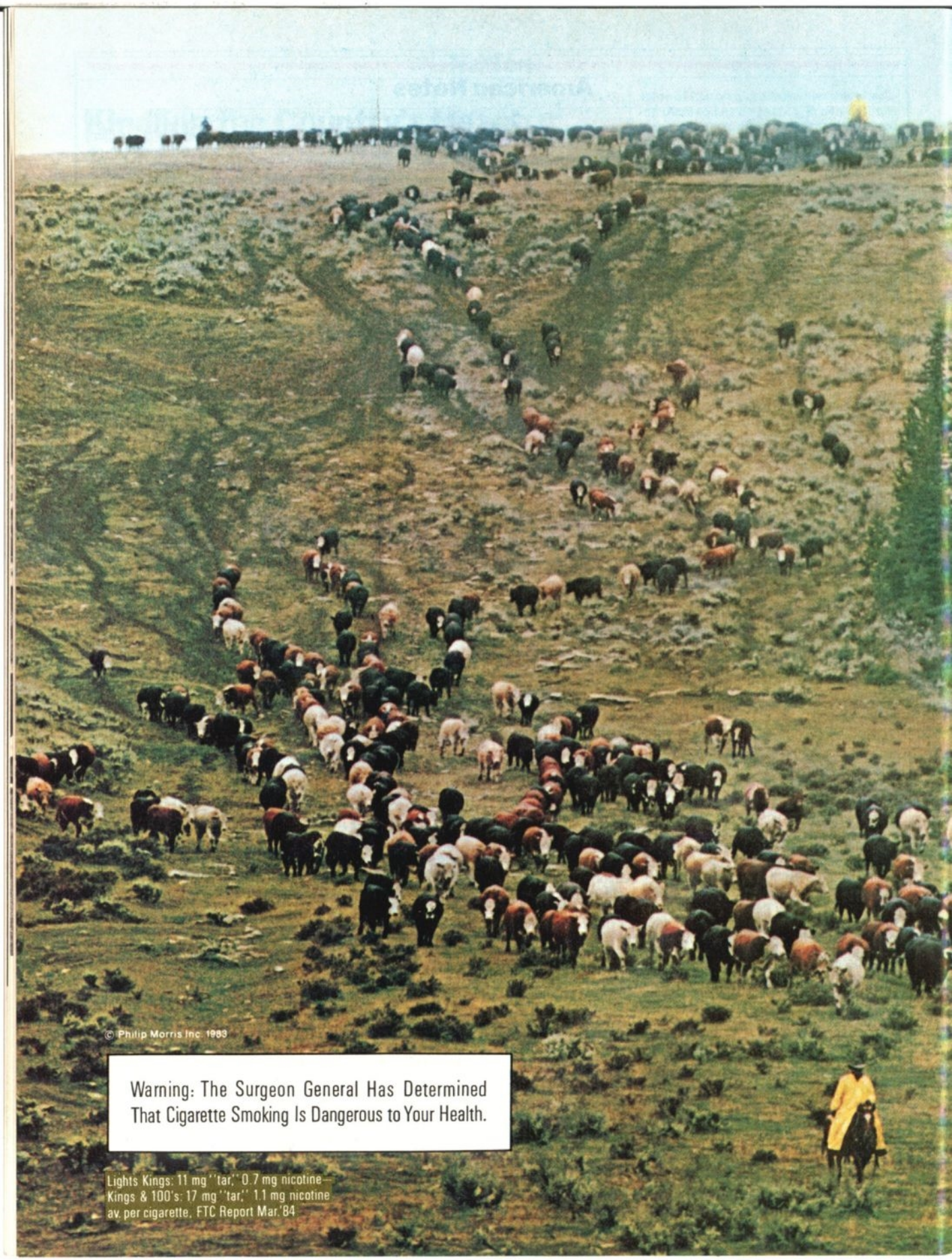
MUNICIPALITIES

A Sip of Ol' Man River

Taste and clarity

Officials from New York City took the contest so seriously that they hand-carried their entry to Dallas in refrigerated containers normally used to ship organs for transplants. Chicago carefully drew its sample from a water crib three miles offshore in Lake Michigan. In all, seven U.S. cities and one Canadian city submitted samples of their drinking water to a tasting contest sponsored by the American Water Works Association. To the astonishment of connoisseurs, the three-judge panel turned noses up at New York's crystalline product from the Catskill Mountains and passed over Seattle's melted snow from the Cascade Range. The continent's most perfect *eau ordinaire,* it decided, was that of New Orleans, whose entry had been drawn from the muddy Mississippi River.

Ironically, just ten years ago, the Environmental Protection Agency had found New Orleans' water more suitable for boiling crawfish than for drinking, discovering 73 carbon compounds; the town's sewerage and water board had to upgrade its purification program. It is a never-ending struggle. Even as New Orleans officials were savoring their victory, a barge accident 50 miles upriver sent a 200,000-gal. oil slick floating toward town, forcing the shutdown of some water-intake facilities.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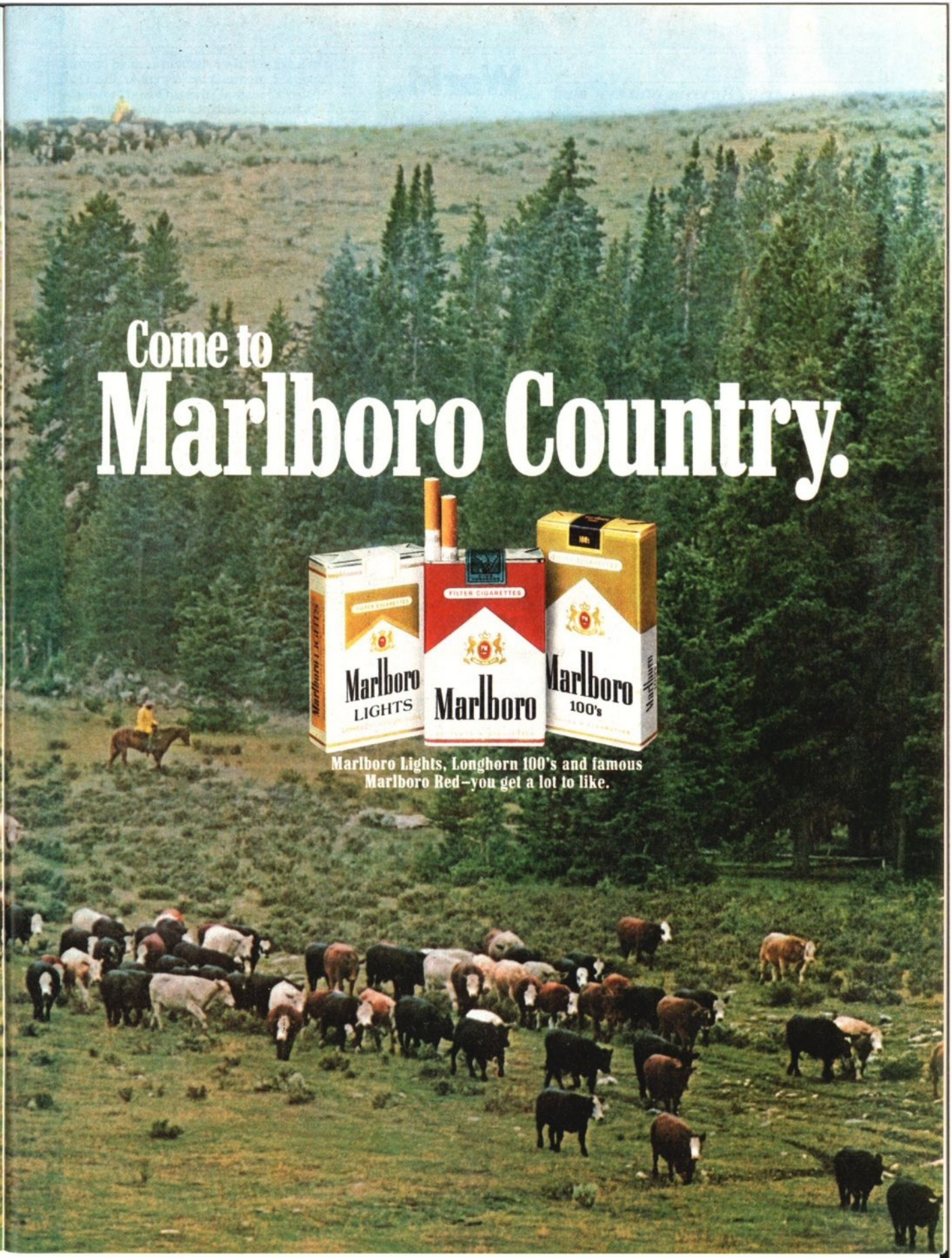
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COVER STORIES

Moscow's Hard Line

More influential than ever, Gromyko sets the Soviets' uncompromising tone

As the foreign leaders and their ministers took their seats in the Kremlin's white-columned Hall of St. George last week, they could see the long roster of names engraved in Cyrillic script on marble tablets along the chamber's walls. The list is an honor roll of czarist military regiments, officers and soldiers who displayed extraordinary bravery in defending the motherland, or *rodina*, as Russians say with almost mystical fervor. The dignitaries were there to represent the nations most closely allied to the Soviet Union: its six satellites in Eastern Europe, plus three poorer relations from the Third World: Cuba, Viet Nam and Mongolia.

They had come to Moscow for the first top-level meeting in 15 years of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet-led trading community. They talked about agriculture, oil prices and technology. But something even more urgent than economics underlay the discussions. With U.S.-Soviet relations close to rock-bottom, the rare COMECON meeting represented Moscow's urgent summons for present and future solidarity from its allies. The motherland needed friends and comfort.

BJORKMAN—LEHTIKUVA/WOODFIN CAMP

Chernenko: all the titles but not all the power

Soviet Leader Konstantin Chernenko, who looked hale but moved stiffly in the brief conference footage broadcast over national TV, closed the meeting with a short speech calling on the Western democracies to let capitalism and Communism live in "peaceful coexistence." But he warned, "A dangerous test of strength, being imposed on us by the most reactionary imperialist circles, primarily in the U.S., is not our choice, not our policy. But we will be able to stand up for ourselves. Let no one have any doubt about that."

Chernenko's words were echoed in the political declaration issued by the ten Communist nations after the close of their meeting. "International tension has grown substantially as a result of the course pursued by the aggressive forces of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism," the document charged. Ignoring the conciliatory tone of President Reagan's press conference, which had taken place twelve hours earlier, the statement went on to accuse Washington of an "escalation of the arms race" that "jeopardizes the very existence of mankind."

It had seemed at the beginning of the year that relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union could hardly become worse, short of an armed conflict. Reagan had, after all, branded the Soviet Union an "evil empire," and Moscow had declared with convincing finality that it could no longer do business with Washington. NATO had begun deployment of new missiles in Western Europe, and in response the Soviets had stalked away from every negotiating table where the superpowers had been discussing nuclear arms control. Yet in the four months since Chernenko succeeded the late Yuri Andropov, the chill factor from Moscow has intensified. The trend is all the more noticeable because it contrasts so sharply with President Reagan's new and uncharacteristically conciliatory tone (*see* NATION).

The Kremlin has gone out of its way to keep old grudges alive. Invoking flimsy pretexts, it decided to boycott the Los Angeles Olympics. It has rejected all invitations to return to the arms-control bargaining tables in Geneva, preferring to deploy new weapons in Eastern Europe and to send additional submarines to lurk near U.S. shores. The truculent display abroad has been matched by a tightening of control at home, including efforts to silence Nobel Peace Prize Recipient Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner.

SAHM DOHERTY

Gromyko: once the dutiful executor, now the architect

Looking out from the Kremlin at a hostile and threatening world.

The Kremlin has more than matched its deeds with angry, at times hysterical, words. A veritable Niagara of insults and threats continues to flow from the pages of *Pravda* and the tickers of TASS. The Reagan Administration is accused of plotting "covert subversive activities and terrorism," engaging in a "campaign of blackmail and threats," and "thinking in terms of war and acting accordingly."

West Europeans, whom Moscow so recently was wooing, have also felt the full force of Soviet fury. While discussing nuclear arms with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti in April, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko made a pointed allusion to the Roman city of Pompeii, which was de-

stroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79. After West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's visit a month later, the Soviet press published reports that West Germany's soldiers resemble a "Hitlerite army" and that the government was plotting to take over East Germany. China, which Moscow has every reason to entice away from the U.S., received a pointed snub in May with the last-day cancellation of what was to have been the highest-level visit in 15 years. The Soviet Union, concluded an editorial in the British weekly the *Economist*, has "gone into hibernation."

Moscow's continuing allusions to war could be dismissed as so much propaganda if the nuclear threat facing both superpowers were not all too real. After a decade and a half of tortuous talks, the process of arms control is at the moment essentially dead *(see following story)*. Meanwhile, the U.S. and the Soviet Union stand on the threshold of a revolution in nuclear technology that will vastly complicate future negotiations. The U.S. moved a step closer to Star Wars weaponry last week when it successfully tested a new defensive missile.

Although the twelve-man Politburo makes its decisions collectively, the new ultrahard line is widely identified with the growing influence of one man: Andrei Gromyko *(see box)*. The combination of Chernenko's rumored weakness as a leader and his lack of experience in foreign affairs appears to have given Gromyko more power than at any other time in his 27 years as Foreign Minister. Foreign delegations that have traveled to Moscow in the past few months have been startled to observe how Gromyko interrupts Chernenko during meetings. In private sessions with Westerners, Soviet diplomats, journalists and academics disparage Chernenko in an unprecedented fashion.

Diplomats who for more than a quarter-century have learned to read the lines on Gromyko's face for clues about Soviet moves abroad have noticed that the fleeting smile that he would offer during the halcyon days of détente has turned to a quasi-permanent scowl. His lips seem pursed to utter a defiant *nyet* at a moment's notice. Says a West German official recently returned from Moscow: "His is the first face you see when you arrive and the last face you see when you leave. These days it is not a pleasant face."

Western diplomats who met privately with Gromyko at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe last January found him keeping three Reagan speeches close at hand. The text of the President's "focus of evil" address seemed to be particularly dog-eared. Gromyko's repeated references to those speeches underscored the degree to which the U.S. President's slaps at Soviet power and prestige have stirred anger and animosity in Moscow. Few Soviet officials like to be reminded that they once consid-

"New missiles, bombers and aircraft carriers are being churned out in some kind of pathological obsession. The present U.S. Administration is thinking in terms of war and acting accordingly."

—Andrei Gromyko, Jan. 18, 1984

"Militarism, hostility and war hysteria are exported together with those missiles. As a result, the world is pushed closer and closer to a nuclear abyss."

—Dmitri Ustinov, March 5, 1984

"There are some who would like to turn space into an arena of aggression and war, as is clear from the plans announced in the U.S."

—Konstantin Chernenko, May 19, 1984

"Human rights! New York is where you should look for violations. There, the people have to sleep on the sidewalks and sift through garbage cans."

—Andrei Gromyko, May 29, 1984

"It is a long time since the American capital has seen such a noisy militaristic orgy, arranged by the Reagan Administration on the occasion of the burial of the Unknown Soldier."

—TASS, May 29, 1984

"[The West German army] is bracing itself for aggression jointly with the U.S. armed forces against the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty states."

—*Red Star*, June 3, 1984

"[The Reagan Administration] has chosen terrorism as a method of conducting affairs with other states and peoples."

—Konstantin Chernenko, June 13, 1984

ered Reagan a potential "closet" Nixon who might correct the foreign policy zigzags of the Carter Administration and return to something like détente.

The obsession with Reagan goes well beyond his words. Soviet officials view the President's commitment to a $1.6 trillion military buildup as evidence that the U.S. is determined to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. (When asked at his press conference last week whether the Republican Party platform should call for "parity" or "superiority," Reagan answered that he would prefer "we not ask for superiority.") They accuse the Administration of having presented deliberately lopsided proposals in nuclear arms talks in order to prevent any agreement from being reached. Soviet officials tirelessly repeat the argument that the new Pershing II missiles that NATO began deploying in West Germany last November are first-strike weapons capable of reaching Moscow in eight minutes (in fact, the new missiles cannot reach the Soviet capital from their present launching sites).

Recalling the famous statement by Reagan that Marxism would be consigned to "the ash heap of history," Moscow accuses him of wanting to do nothing less than overthrow the Communist regime. One Soviet official advanced the following frightening hypothesis last week: "Reagan has tried to create an image of the Soviet Union as a hostile and inhuman country. It looks to us as if he is preparing the home front, because people must be taught to hate the enemy before a war can be launched."

In retrospect, one of the most vexing realizations is that there was a brief time recently when the U.S.-Soviet relationship stood a chance of improvement. Early in 1983 Reagan informed Andropov in a personal letter that the U.S. was interested in responding to Soviet calls for better ties. Some tentative signs emerged in the summer of 1983, when the two nations signed an agreement under which the U.S. would sell a minimum of 9 million tons of grain to the Soviet Union over a five-year period. Talks were under way to upgrade the Moscow-Washington hotline and to open consular offices in New York and Kiev. But then, on Sept. 1, 1983, a Soviet interceptor jet shot down a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 that had strayed over Soviet territory on Sakhalin Island, killing all 269 aboard. Reagan responded with particular fury, accusing the Soviets of committing "a terrorist act to sacrifice the lives of innocent human beings."

The Kremlin stonewalled, charging that the civilian airliner had been on a U.S.-inspired spy mission. Responding to popular anger in the U.S., the Governors of New York and New Jersey barred Gromyko's aircraft from landing at Kennedy and Newark international airports when he was scheduled to address the U.N. General Assembly. Deeply stung by the decision, Gromyko decided not to

A Diplomat for All Seasons

At 74, he displays greater vitality than most of his Kremlin colleagues. His hair is slate gray but abundant. His shoulders are only slightly stooped, and he walks without a shuffle. His dour, dark-eyed face has been etched over the decades with downturning lines, but it is still capable of all the familiar flashes of emotion: the rare, stray wisp of a smile, the characteristic sag of one side of his thin mouth to denote disapproval, the sudden contortions of carefully thought-out anger. However he has changed over the years, Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko has also remained the same: the enduring personification of the ultimate Soviet diplomat.

The durability of that image is a tribute to Gromyko's formidable skills. After 45 years in the foreign service, 27 as Foreign Minister and nearly eleven in the Politburo, Gromyko is at the height of his power. Long respected and reviled as the Soviet Union's most dutiful diplomatic technician, he has become not only the custodian of Moscow's foreign policy but probably its chief architect.

Not since France's Prince de Talleyrand, who survived the French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte and the restored Bourbon monarchy, has a statesman pursued his craft with such success under so many different masters. Gromyko has served the Soviet state through all of its tortuous transformations, from Stalinist despotism to the vicissitudes of the Andropov and Chernenko years. He has dealt with nine U.S. Presidents, starting with Franklin D. Roosevelt, and 14 Secretaries of State. Says a diplomat who meets often with Gromyko: "He remembers not because he read a brief or a book, but as often as not because he was there in person."

Along the way, the man who once declared that "my personality does not interest me" has picked up a host of nicknames appropriate to his many roles. For his dour countenance he came to be known as Grim Grom; for his ability to conceal his mood, Washington diplomats began in the 1940s to call him Old Stone Face. The sobriquet, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote in his memoirs, "accurately described an impenetrable mask which may well have contributed to his amazing and unique record of survival."

The compliments are almost universal. Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has called Gromyko "a thoroughly professional practitioner of the diplomatic trade, a man of great skill and high intelligence." "I must say I am filled with admiration," says a Western ambassador who recently was face to face with Gromyko. "Here is a man of nearly 75 who is taking very good care of himself. And when he speaks, his mind is quick and he is a master of detail." Above all, Gromyko is recognized as an indestructible practitioner of *Realpolitik*. Says a West German diplomat: "He knows the long-term objectives of Soviet policy as no other human, and he sees things in that light."

WALTER BENNETT

Gromyko with Truman at Potsdam, 1945 ... with Kennedy in the Oval Office, 1961

Gromyko is unique in the Politburo in that he has no dominant political base among the key institutions of the Soviet state, such as the military, the KGB or the Communist Party. His rise is the product of decades of unswerving political loyalty to whoever was wielding power, combined with his accumulated expertise: no one in the Kremlin knows the West better. Through a kind of bureaucratic osmosis, Gromyko has come to personify the basic attributes of Soviet foreign policy, from its caution to its doggedness—and now, its anger and frustration.

Born in 1909 to a well-to-do peasant family in the Byelorussian village of Starye Gromyki (the family name derives from the settlement), he worked on the family farm and attended local schools until the age of 17. He then progressed rapidly from an agricultural

institute in Minsk to the Moscow Research Institute for Agricultural Economics. Gromyko joined the Communist Party in 1931 and five years later wrote a thesis on the mechanization of U.S. agriculture. Eventually, he joined the editorial board of the leading Soviet economic review.

Westerners who express surprise at Gromyko's strident tone forget that he is a *summa cum laude* graduate of the Stalin school of foreign policy. Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov recruited him in 1939 and less than a year later sent him to the Soviet embassy in Washington as a counselor. At 34, he became Ambassador to the U.S. Gromyko's aloof manner and late-night working habits quickly earned him the title "the oldest young man in the capital." During his three-year stint, he helped to draft the United Nations Charter at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, and assisted at the epic Yalta and Potsdam summit conferences.

As the cold war began, Gromyko became Moscow's permanent representative to the U.N. Security Council. In the course of his two-year term, the Soviet Union cast 26 vetoes; Gromyko became notorious for his staged walkouts. He returned to Moscow in 1948 to become First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and nine years later Nikita Khrushchev made him Foreign Minister. Gromyko has been personally involved in every major East-West crisis, from Berlin to the Congo to Angola, Viet Nam and the Middle East. Many Americans may remember him best for his performance during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, when he asserted that the Soviet Union had installed no missiles in Cuba.

Gromyko's talent for fulfilling the wishes of his leaders, whatever they may be, is legendary. Khrushchev once boasted to Charles de Gaulle that if Gromyko were ordered to drop his trousers and sit on a block of ice "for months," he would do so. As former Secretary of State Alexander Haig wrote in his memoirs: "When . . . he makes an ideological statement or engages in a fit of temper, it is safe to assume that he does so on instructions from Moscow or for tactical reasons." That is exactly the attribute, however, that may have changed in the past few months.

Among Gromyko's crowning achievements is the negotiation of the SALT I and SALT II arms-control treaties; in 1973, after the signing of SALT I, he was promoted to the Politburo. In the years of talks that went into the drafting of those documents, Gromyko demonstrated not only his prodigious memory but a virtually unlimited capacity for detail. Says Jean François-Poncet, who as French Foreign Minister from 1978 to 1981 met repeatedly with his Soviet counterpart: "Gromyko never took a note, never looked at a folder or turned to his assistants for advice." In recent years Gromyko has shown his adaptability by mastering that most Western of rituals, the televised press conference. Unlike his reclusive Politburo colleagues, Gromyko can display pugnacious self-confidence in responding to the impromptu questions of foreign newsmen. He did just that on April 2, 1983, in Moscow, rejecting the U.S. position on intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe during a live broadcast that was carried to the U.S. by the Cable News Network.

Schooled in the unforgiving world of Kremlin politics, Gromyko has a merciless ability to exploit any sign of human weakness in an opponent. Says a U.S. analyst: "It would be difficult to argue with him during meetings of the Politburo. The older members would know better, while the younger ones would risk getting cut off at the knees."

Gromyko has impressed his Western interlocutors as a well-read and cultured man. Says former President Jimmy Carter, "During private lunches and banquets he seemed like a different man. He spoke English fluently, he obviously had a sense of humor, and he was familiar with American ways. He was a delightful dinner companion." Gromyko likes to play chess with his wife Lidiya, but his favorite outdoor activity is boar hunting. According to Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a former Kissinger aide who has spent dozens of hours in talks with Gromyko, he is a great admirer of Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov, Russia's Foreign Minister from 1856 to 1882, who skillfully rebuilt his country's power after the humiliating loss of the Crimean War.

Gromyko lives the kind of protected and privileged life that other Politburo members enjoy. He and his wife dwell in a modern apartment block built for ranking officials on Shchuseva Street in downtown Moscow. Gromyko is driven to work at the dark granite Foreign Ministry every day in a black ZIL limousine. He has two children, Anatoli and Emiliya; Son Anatoli is director of African studies at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Gromyko's most notable extravagance is his wardrobe: he wears expensive, well-tailored suits that draw envious stares even from other high Soviet officials.

Behind his dutiful façade there lurks, without question, a Kremlin-size ego. An American who knows the Kremlin describes Gromyko tersely: "He is a man with long memory, great skill, a not particularly generous spirit." Gromyko, he says, is still "smarting from various slights or assumed slights" administered by the U.S. Says another U.S. expert: "That embitterment has given him a sharpness and has affected his judgment."

But perhaps the sharp edges have long been there. Former British Prime Minister Lord Home likes to tell the story of how Mrs. Gromyko once warned him that "if you buy a gun for my son, buy a better one than you buy for my husband, because my son lets the ducks rise off the water." The point is clear: sitting ducks can expect no mercy from the durable diplomat. ***—By George Russell. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow, with other bureaus***

UPI

. . . with Johnson in Washington, 1966

WALTER BENNETT

. . . with Nixon after the SALT I signing, 1972

. . . with Carter in Washington, 1977

come at all, even though the U.S. offered the use of a military airfield near New York if the Soviet diplomat would arrive in a military aircraft. Finally, when NATO went ahead with its plan to deploy the first of 108 Pershing II and 464 cruise missiles in Western Europe, the Soviets walked out of the intermediate-range missile talks, later vowing not to return unless the missiles were withdrawn. They also suspended strategic-arms negotiations.

Since Chernenko's assumption of power, the Kremlin has heaped scorn on every initiative advanced by the Reagan Administration. It rejected a U.S. proposal presented by Vice President George Bush in Geneva last April to outlaw production of nerve gases and other chemical weapons as "deliberately unacceptable for the Soviet Union and many other states." When Reagan responded two weeks ago to a longstanding Soviet initiative by offering to negotiate a pact barring the first use of force, Moscow said the idea was "hypocritical."

Meanwhile, the Soviets have conspicuously flexed their military muscles. In April the Soviet navy held its largest maneuvers ever in the North Atlantic. About the same time, Soviet forces in Afghanistan launched their fiercest offensive against guerrillas since invading the country. In May, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov outlined the deployment of additional tactical nuclear weapons in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and announced that two Delta-class submarines, carrying longer-range missiles, had joined the Soviet subs already cruising off the U.S. coasts.

The Soviet bluster, some argue, may be little more than a negotiating tactic. This view is held by many in the Reagan Administration. By deliberately fostering an atmosphere of tension, the argument goes, the Kremlin might exact concessions it could not gain through diplomatic channels. Given Moscow's almost pathological antipathy for Reagan, the Soviets could also be trying to influence the outcome of the U.S. elections by allowing the Democrats to paint the President as a man not to be trusted with his finger on the nuclear button. One significant danger of the present situation, according to an American specialist in Soviet affairs, is that the U.S. "can no longer count on measured and rational responses" from the Soviets. Says he: "There is no taut line of control in Moscow. The soft leadership situation means that we cannot extrapolate their responses from past behavior."

HUBERT VAN ES

The road to confrontation: Soviet troops invading Afghanistan

Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Ogarkov explains why the Soviets shot down KAL Flight 007

It seemed that superpower relations could hardly become worse, short of armed conflict.

Ever since Leonid Brezhnev became seriously ill, the Soviet Union has had no strong direction from the top. As Brezhnev's health deteriorated, decision making was virtually paralyzed. His successor, Andropov, began his tenure by projecting a forceful image, particularly in cracking down on corruption, absenteeism and economic inefficiency. But soon he too was mortally ill; from Aug. 18, 1983, until his death last February, he was not seen in public. Again, decisions were postponed as his colleagues waited and presumably maneuvered for position.

The Kremlin's leadership crisis became even more apparent when, after four days of deliberation following Andropov's death, the Communist Party Central Committee announced that Chernenko had been named to the top position. Known more for his loyalty to Brezhnev than for his expertise in any area except the party bureaucracy, Chernenko had been conspicuously passed over 15 months earlier when Andropov succeeded Brezhnev; indeed, there was some speculation that Andropov had shunted his erstwhile rival aside.

The consensus among Western experts today is that although Chernenko quickly collected all the titles that Brezhnev and Andropov held (General Secretary of the Communist Party and President, as well as Chairman of the Defense Council), he in fact merely shares power with Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov and Foreign Minister Gromyko. It is the latter who, after more than a quarter-century as the executor of other men's policies, is thought to have been most instrumental in shaping the current hard line. There seems to be no one powerful enough to rein him in. Adam Ulam, director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, suspects that "Gromyko is making up for the time he was an errand boy for Khrushchev and Brezhnev." Says Richard F. Staar, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution: "Gromyko has always been a hard-liner. He's delighted now to perform that function as the official spokesman for the party."

An important factor in the deterioration of superpower relations is what might be called the Great Misunderstanding of Détente. The Kremlin saw détente as a way to gain access to Western markets and technology. Through negotiations, Moscow also hoped to limit the development of troublesome new U.S. weapons systems. But the Soviets also saw détente as a way ultimately to secure equal standing with the U.S. as a superpower. The high point came in Moscow in May 1972, when Richard Nixon and Brezhnev signed a declaration of principles that committed the superpowers to the principle of "equality" and to the promise not to seek "unilateral advantage at the expense of the other."

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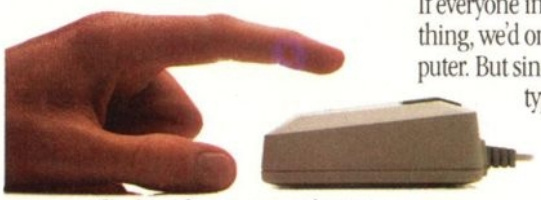

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was not the U.S. intepretation. When the Soviets and their Cuban proxies became involved in Ethiopia and Angola, the U.S. charged them with violating their pledge not to make geopolitical gains at Washington's expense. In addition, some Americans naively believed that détente meant the Soviets would change their behavior at home. That hope began to go sour as early as 1974, when Congress passed the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which tied preferential trade terms to freedom of emigration from the U.S.S.R. The Soviets angrily rejected the demand as interference in their internal affairs.

Gromyko was intimately involved in the formulation of détente, though he was then clearly subservient to Brezhnev. Thus Gromyko, perhaps even more than his Politburo colleagues, feels betrayed by what Moscow perceives as Washington's repudiation of the sacred principle of superpower equality. In various ways and at various times, Gromyko has asked rhetorically and sarcastically of the U.S., "Are you going to allow us to have any foreign policy at all?"

Many experts conclude that détente could never have lasted, considering the different interpretations of it by the two superpowers. Says French Kremlinologist Hélène Carrère d'Encausse: "We keep asking ourselves if the hardening of Moscow's attitude is a parenthesis in a period of détente. I think we've got it backwards. Détente was the parenthesis." Other analysts argue that détente might have been stabilized and institutionalized had it not been for the collapse of the Nixon Administration, which had sponsored the policy.

To make matters worse, Gromyko and his colleagues now look out over the Kremlin's medieval battlements at an increasingly hostile and threatening world. Rebellious Poland has barely been pacified. China is experimenting with economic reforms that are anathema to true Marxist-Leninists, and has made diplomatic overtures to the U.S. and Japan. No end is in sight to the war in Afghanistan. The Islamic fundamentalist regime of Iran's Ayatullah Khomeini is almost as hostile to the Soviet Union as to the U.S. Cuba, which has advanced Soviet aims in the Caribbean and Africa, was humiliated by the successful U.S. invasion of Grenada, and it now seems possible that Cuban troops may leave Angola as part of a broader peace agreement in southern Africa. "It illustrates that despite a great power's strength there are limits to what you can do with military force," says William Hyland, a former Kissinger aide who is now editor of *Foreign Affairs*. "This is frustrating to a country that arrived to full superpower status in the '70s."

At home, mounting economic troubles are straining Soviet resources. A younger generation enamored of things Western, from rock music and blue jeans to U.S. Army fatigues, is alienated from an increasingly xenophobic leadership. Says a senior European diplomat: "Frustration and uncertainty seem to dominate the Kremlin mood. The current collective leadership cannot point to a single success in the present, and the future can only make them uneasy."

No setback has rankled the Kremlin more than the failure of the Soviet propaganda campaign against the deployment of NATO missiles in Europe. On the eve of West Germany's 1983 elections, Gromyko tried to strengthen the peace movement and swing the electorate against Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose conservative party supported the Alliance's plan. In a statement in *Pravda*, the Soviet Foreign Minister condescendingly told Europeans that rejecting the NATO missiles would be an "indication of political maturity." The strategy misfired badly, and Gromyko's threats may actually have helped Kohl's coalition win a parliamentary majority. The huge peace offensive that was expected to produce violent anti-missile demonstrations last fall in Europe never materialized. In a further setback, the missile decision won support from the government of French President François Mitterrand, which includes four Communist ministers. Last November giant U.S. C-141 StarLifter and C-5 Galaxy transports delivered the first new weapons to their bases in Britain and West Germany.

The failure to prevent NATO's deployment came as a major blow to Soviet prestige. With their bullying tactics, moreover, the Soviets have put themselves in a position from which they will have difficulty recovering without serious loss of face. In a system where longevity is a virtue and innovation an ever present danger, substantive changes in policy do not come easily. Thus the present period of tension could last for some time. Says former Secretary of State Vance: "We're in for a long, cool, difficult period that will extend beyond the fall elections."

Administration officials insist that if diplomatic ties are not as warm as they could be, routine business is going on as usual. Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin still goes regularly to see Secretary of State George Shultz, even if he no longer enters by the underground-garage entrance to the State Department that he used until Alexander Haig suspended the privilege. Gromyko continues to receive U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman in Moscow. The superpowers have just renegotiated a 1972 agreement to diminish incidents at sea, and American farmers are once again selling their wheat to the Soviets. "Relations are not frozen," says Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt. "We don't have a Cuban missile crisis on our hands or a 1973 Middle East war in which there was a call to battle stations. The last thing the Russians want now is a crisis."

Beyond a productive summit meeting,

STODDART—GAMMA/LIAISON

Propaganda defeat: U.S. Air Force transport plane delivers cruise missiles to Britain

MORVAN—GAMMA/LIAISON

Soviet Arms Negotiator Yuli Kvitsinsky walks out of arms talks in Geneva

The failure to prevent NATO's deployment came as a major blow to Soviet prestige.

the single most encouraging step would be for Moscow to return to the nuclear arms negotiation table. To do so would require a degree of flexibility that the current Kremlin leadership may not be capable of; yet there have been hints that the U.S. would be willing to make concessions that would allow the Soviets to return gracefully to Geneva. One positive indication is that Chernenko has been pressing particularly hard for an agreement to ban weapons in space. "Tomorrow it may be too late," Chernenko declared last week. The Reagan Administration, which had rejected the proposal on the grounds that any agreement would be unverifiable, acknowledged at week's end that the idea was worth exploring.

There are other steps the U.S. could take to improve the East-West climate without giving Moscow the mistaken impression that it can get what it wants by belligerence. One would be to curb the cold war rhetoric, which may play well on the campaign trail during an election year, but echoes stridently abroad, alarming foe and friend alike.

Reagan has taken a large step in that direction by moderating the language that he uses to describe the Soviet Union and by dropping hints of the kind that emerged from his press conference last week. U.S. policymakers should also examine what is to be gained from an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union, then actively pursue those goals. The fallacy of détente was that it led Americans to expect too much, too soon. Little steps, not giant strides, may in the long run be more effective. Says Marshall D. Shulman, director of Columbia University's Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union: "The U.S. should seek a *modus vivendi* based not on illusions or domestic politics but on our own self-interest."

But much more movement must come from the Kremlin. So far, the Soviet leadership seems to be devoting its energy to staying rigidly in place. Gromyko is a grand master of that tactic. Notes a NATO ambassador: "He is content to do nothing, and that is rare in diplomacy." In addition, no other diplomat can claim to have his insight into East-West affairs. "We have to keep remembering that this is not the first round for Gromyko," says former Kissinger Aide Hyland. "He has seen Soviet foreign policies shift. He has seen us shift. He is enough of a professional that he knows what happens."

But one thing Gromyko should have noticed is that his intransigent attitude is not playing well in Western Europe, where leaders are now far less inclined than they have been in the past to hold Reagan responsible for the souring in East-West relations. "We saw that at the summit in London," says a top State Department official. "There will be some who blame Ronald Reagan's rhetoric, but the fact is that Western leaders understand what is taking place in Moscow. It is becoming clear that no matter what the U.S. does, the Soviets will not respond."

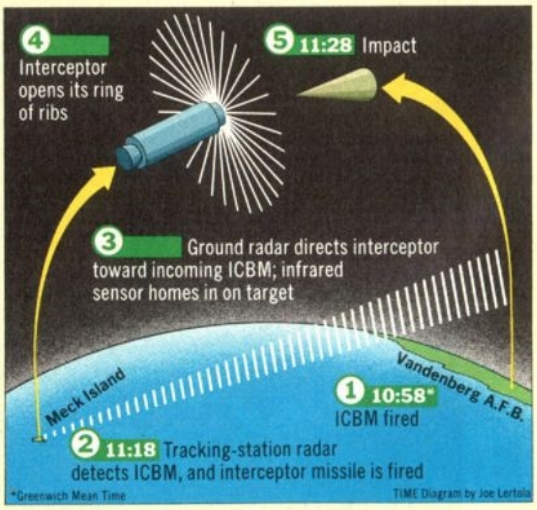
As comforting as the new display of Western solidarity may be, it carries its own risks. The more isolated the Soviets become, the more unpredictable their behavior. By going out of their way to alienate the nations that surround them, the Soviets are only making their paranoia about encirclement self-fulfilling. "One of the puzzling things," says a senior Western diplomat in Moscow, "is that the Soviets appear to be acting against their own self-interest." If Gromyko wants to be remembered for something more substantive than his longevity, he will have to apply his considerable talents to the search for a more stable and less dangerous U.S.-Soviet relationship. ***—By John Kohan. Reported by Erik Amfitheatrof/Moscow and William Stewart/Washington, with other bureaus.***

Bull's-Eye in Space

"To a bad night in the Kremlin," Edward Wilkinson announced as he hoisted a glass of champagne in mid-Pacific, 4,800 miles from California. Wilkinson, director of a U.S. Army effort known as "Homing Overlay Experiment," had good reason to hope for some insomnia in Moscow: his project scored its first success last week. A special interceptor rocket fired from Meck Island in the Kwajalein archipelago had struck the dummy warhead of a Minuteman I intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) that had been launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California some 30 minutes earlier. Military analysts described the collision, which pulverized both projectiles more than 100 miles above the earth's surface, as a major technological advance that would support President Reagan's controversial idea of developing strategic defenses against enemy missiles.

The novel gadgetry that made Homing Overlay successful is a sophisticated guidance system in the interceptor's warhead. It is able, thanks to a remarkable infrared sensor, to fix in space a target as small as a human being 1,000 miles away. As the missiles raced toward each other at a combined speed of 18,000 m.p.h., the interceptor's warhead expanded into an umbrella-shaped array of aluminum "ribs," 15 feet in diameter. As it turned out, the sensor aboard the killer rocket was so accurate that the ribs were unnecessary: the missiles themselves collided. The feat has been compared to one bullet hitting another, but, said Wilkinson, the two missiles were moving "about twice as fast as bullets."

Army spokesmen emphasized that Homing Overlay was merely an experiment, the fourth in a $300 million series that has been under way for six years. The three previous tests failed for various mechanical reasons. According to the spokesmen, the point of the experiment is to prove that incoming missiles can be destroyed well before they reach their targets without resorting to defensive nuclear explosions. Some scientists believe that radioactive fallout from such interceptions would be minimal, since the target warheads would be demolished without exploding. The Army insisted that Homing Overlay was "completely and absolutely compliant" with the 1972 antiballistic missile (ABM) treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. that banned the deployment of defensive missile systems while allowing experiments to proceed. (The Soviets were permitted to keep the ABM system they had already built to defend Moscow.) So far, the Soviets have had no official reaction to the Homing Overlay test, even though an electronic spy ship stationed off Kwajalein monitored the entire experiment.



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Battling the Gods of War

The dangerous breakdown of the most vital negotiations of our time

Of all the ways in which the U.S. and the Soviet Union compete, none is more dangerous than their rivalry in the development and deployment of strategic nuclear weapons. Of all the ways in which the two countries conduct diplomacy with each other, none is more important than strategic arms control, the cooperative effort by which these otherwise competing superpowers try to regulate their rivalry and keep it from getting out of hand. Of all the ways in which Soviet-U.S. relations have declined over the past year, none is more ominous than the breakdown in strategic arms control. Of all the challenges facing both leaderships in the months and years ahead, the resumption of arms control is the most vital.

Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and heavy bombers—these are the arms with which the world's most powerful antagonists would strike each other if they ever came to blows. There is a good chance that a nuclear war between them would destroy both countries, and perhaps the rest of humanity as well.

Even short of the apocalyptic danger of their being fired in anger, strategic nuclear weapons represent a momentous, complex and delicate aspect of the Soviet-U.S. relationship. They have come to symbolize both nations' assertion of their global, often conflicting interests and their willingness to use ultimate force to defend those interests. It is their huge nuclear stockpiles that make these two countries truly superpowers, and it is the antagonism between them that makes them arm so heavily against each other; peace, and the survival of the planet, depends on the maintenance of a stable balance between the two arsenals.

The start of START: Soviet and U.S. representatives in Geneva two years ago

If one side feels its security jeopardized by unfavorable trends in that balance, it is likely to ascribe the most sinister motives to its adversary and to take countermeasures it regards as corrective but that the other side regards as threatening. That is the dynamic of vicious cycles, escalating mutual suspicions and potentially disastrous miscalculations.

For more than a dozen years, spanning four Administrations from the late '60s until the advent of the Reagan Administration in 1981, the mechanism for keeping the competition under some measure of control was SALT, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. While the arms race continued, SALT produced a series of pacts that established rules of the road: the 1972 SALT I accords, one of which severely limited antiballistic missile (ABM) defenses, and an accompanying "interim agreement" that capped the number of missile launchers (underground silos for ICBMs and tubes for SLBMs) allowed on each side; and the more comprehensive SALT II treaty of 1979, which limited bombers and missile warheads as well as launchers.

SALT II was never ratified by the U.S. Senate, partly because of doubts over its terms. Critics on the right complained that it left the Soviet Union with too many of its existing weapons; critics on the left complained that it permitted both sides to develop too many new weapons. But most of all, SALT II was a victim of "linkage," the susceptibility of the arms-control process to fallout from adverse events in other areas. The debate over Senate ratification was approaching its climax when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, just as the leader who had signed the treaty for the U.S., Jimmy Carter, was under strong attack for vacillation and weakness in his response to Soviet adventurism.

Carter's Republican opponent in the 1980 presidential campaign, Ronald Reagan, charged that SALT II was "fatally flawed." However, shortly before Election Day in 1980, Reagan vowed, "As President, I will make immediate preparations for negotiations on a SALT III treaty. My goal is to begin arms reductions."

It took Reagan nearly a third of his first term even to make a proposal for strategic arms control. Then the ensuing negotiations collapsed last December, after the Soviets walked out of the parallel talks on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) to protest the initial deployment of 572 new American Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. While the problems besetting strategic arms control have been in part a side effect of the impasse in INF and of the downward slide of Soviet-U.S. relations, the strategic talks were never promising in their own right.

The U.S. at the outset locked itself into a negotiating position that seemed almost calculated to guarantee Soviet rejection. In both its opening proposal and the subsequent negotiations in Geneva, the Administration seemed bent on forcing drastic cuts in existing Soviet forces while accepting only marginal restrictions on future U.S. programs. Administration officials admitted that their position was "front-loaded" with measures that would squeeze the Soviets in the short run, but they claimed that the long-term effect would be true equality and greater stability. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and other Soviet spokesmen were contemptuous in dismissing what they called a "cynical American trick." They complained that the "essence" of the U.S. policy was to re-establish American superiority.

By the time the Administration, under pressure from Congress, began tinkering with its proposal, to make it appear more reasonable, the policymaking process had become too confused and the international atmosphere too poisonous for a breakthrough to be possible. The Soviets deserve much of the blame. Their tightening of the screws in Poland, their brutality against the guerrillas resisting their occupation of Afghanistan, their political pressure tactics against Western Europe—

all these developments contributed to the overall deterioration in East-West relations and therefore in the prospects for arms control.

Meanwhile, both sides have stepped up military programs that could soon undermine what is left of SALT. President Reagan's Star Wars initiative for space-based antimissile defenses will, if pursued, violate the 1972 ABM treaty; the Soviets are developing two new types of ICBMs, while SALT II permits only one per side. Thus the arms-control constraints of the past are further unraveling at a time when the quest for new agreements is at a dead end.

For the three years that the Reagan Administration was actively engaged in the conduct of strategic arms control, TIME Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott chronicled the intense infighting on the American side and the frequently acrimonious negotiations in Geneva. In the following account, he has assembled the hitherto untold story of a divided Government at work, of U.S. officials battling one another over turf, military strategy and political philosophy, even as they tried to deal with the nation's principal adversary.*

It is sometimes as dismaying as it is fascinating that public servants with the best interests of the nation at heart could differ so passionately over how to deter the twin threats of nuclear war and Soviet aggressiveness. No doubt there have been similar intramural struggles behind the walls of the Kremlin and the closed doors of various ministries in Moscow, but only one of the superpowers is a democracy in which the kind of self-examination contained here is possible.

If the SALT-INF talks are renewed, they may prove to be the most important negotiations of a generation—perhaps even in our lifetime. Moreover, any hope for real improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations ultimately rests in the area of arms control. Therefore it is all the more important to appreciate what has gone before in order to understand what lies ahead. Many of the characters in this revealing account are still in place, and would be likely to return in a second Reagan Administration. Their role is central in determining who was really in charge of U.S. arms-control policy under Reagan, how they acted and why, and with what consequences for the future. For the U.S. to find a way out of the current dead end in arms control, it must understand how it got there. Talbott's report:

"You can't beat something with nothing, and we don't have our own SALT policy, so we'd be nuts just to throw out the old one."

ALEXANDER HAIG

An Administration Divided

Soon after he came into office, Reagan was convinced that despite his campaign rhetoric about its fatal flaws, the unratified SALT II treaty of 1979 should remain informally in force, since its rules restricted Soviet weapons programs more than American ones. That was the view of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who were holdovers from the Carter Administration, and of Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Without SALT II regulating the number of multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) on each side's ICBMs, the Soviets would be able to increase their MIRVed ICBM force much more quickly than the U.S. Such an increase would open even wider the "window of vulnerability" that Reagan believed threatened the U.S. with a nuclear Pearl Harbor.

"You can't beat something with nothing," said Haig in one of his first meetings with his staff, "and we don't have our own SALT policy, so we'd be nuts just to throw out the old one." But that was just what the new political leaders of the Pentagon wanted to do, particularly the youthful, hawkish Navy Secretary, John Lehman. He publicly recommended on March 3, 1981, that the U.S. not comply with SALT.

That very day Haig's principal aide on arms control, Richard Burt, a young, hard-driving former think-tank specialist and newspaperman, was chairing the first meeting of a group that was supposed to decide the new Administration's policy. He resented Lehman's shot across the bow. Burt had the State Department issue a formal statement disavowing Lehman, saying, "While we are reviewing our SALT policy, we will take no action that would undercut existing agreements so long as the Soviet Union exercises the same restraint."

Reagan kept aloof from the arms-control process and was sometimes puzzled by policies that were being made in his name in what he found to be an esoteric, uninviting field. He was surprised and a bit annoyed by the State Department's public declaration that the U.S. would abide by SALT, since it seemed to challenge his own accusation that SALT was harmful to U.S. interests. Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese, who had overall responsibility for national security policy, reassured Reagan that the contradictory statements being issued from the Pentagon and Foggy Bottom were just a case of "the bureaucracy sorting itself out."

In fact, it was the President's senior advisers, not just middle-level bureaucrats, who were divided. At a meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) in mid-May 1981, Reagan asked, "What are we doing about SALT anyway?" Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and National Security Adviser Richard Allen made a number of claims about how SALT was obstructing weapons programs that the U.S. needed in the near future.

"Like what?" challenged General David Jones, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"Like cruise missiles," replied Weinberger, referring to the small, jet-powered drones that can duck under enemy radar and deliver nuclear weapons with pinpoint accuracy.

Jones explained that no cruise-missile program then in the works was hindered by continued compliance with SALT.

"These guys have got a lot to learn," said Jones to an aide after the meeting.

Supply-Side Arms Control

From the outset of the new Administration, there was uncertainty and passionate disagreement over what, if any, agreement it should seek for the future. The idea of a new acronym that substituted an *R* for *reduction* in place of the *L* for *limitation* in SALT came from Richard Pipes, a Harvard history professor and leading hawk who had joined the NSC staff. Pipes and Allen wanted to call the new talks SART. That did not catch on. White House Chief of Staff James Baker passed a note to Allen during a meeting: "How about 'Faster Arms Reduction Talks' ?"

In fact, faster talks were just what the new Administration

*Another Talbott report, on the INF negotiations, appeared in TIME, Dec. 5, 1983. His book, *Deadly Gambits: The Reagan Administration and the Stalemate in Nuclear Arms Control*, will be published by Knopf later this year.

did not want. It preferred to stall as long as possible and concentrate on quantitative and qualitative improvements in the American arsenal so that eventually, if and when the U.S. did return to the bargaining table with the Soviet Union, it could do so from a position of far greater strength, if not superiority.

The most articulate and effective advocate of this position was Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, a former congressional aide to the late Senator Henry Jackson and a longtime opponent of SALT. Perle and Burt—"the two Richards," as they came to be known—were to become the principal antagonists in the battle over the Administration's conduct of nuclear diplomacy. That battle continues behind the scenes to this day, with Burt trying to maneuver the Administration back toward talks that might yield an agreement, and Perle blocking him at every turn.

Perle once joked that he and like-minded officials were going to "teach the nation a lesson in supply-side arms control." He meant there would have to be years of unilateral buildup in American defenses before there could be a resumption of bilateral talks. Even then, Perle would be deeply skeptical about the wisdom of any arms control. "This stuff is soporific," he once remarked to Burt. "It puts our society to sleep. It does violence to our ability to maintain adequate defenses." Meese was echoing this sentiment when he said, early in 1981, that strategic arms control "will be lucky if we let it get away with benign neglect."

By the end of 1981, SART had become START. Reagan liked the initials because they suggested a new beginning, and he put a brief plug for START in a speech. But the Administration was still a long way from having a proposal to go with the word. Not until early 1982, when the White House became concerned about the growing nuclear arms freeze movement and congressional opposition to the MX—a longstanding program to develop a new, large, ten-warhead ICBM—did the Administration buckle down to serious, high-level consideration of its options for START. By then, Allen had been replaced as National Security Adviser by Deputy Secretary of State William Clark, and Clark had brought with him from the State Department Robert McFarlane to help run the NSC staff.

McFarlane worked closely with Burt to prepare a memo from the White House in early March 1982 that ordered the various agencies to close ranks behind a START proposal by May 1. The purpose of the deadline, remarked McFarlane, was to set off "an explosive charge that will blast apart the log jam in the bureaucracy."

The various agencies had agreed upon a general goal for START, but were divided over the means of achieving it. The goal was to force the Soviet Union to give up many if not most of its ICBMs, particularly its large, multiple-warhead ones. As a land power, the U.S.S.R. has traditionally considered heavy artillery "the god of war"—and ICBMs are the artillery of the nuclear age. The U.S., by contrast, decided in the early '60s to develop a deterrent that was more diversified and made use of high-technology propulsion and guidance systems.

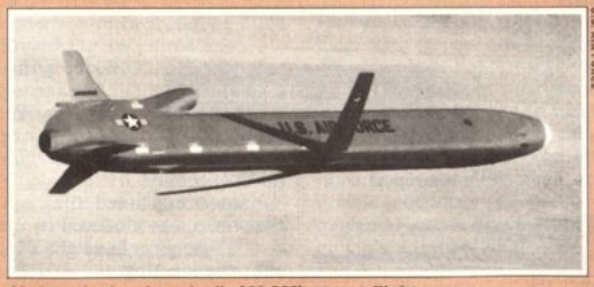
As a result, American ICBMs are smaller and less numerous than the Soviets'. The mainstay of the U.S. ICBM force, 550 Minuteman IIIs, are classified as "light" ICBMs and have three warheads each, while the backbone of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces is made up of 308 "heavy" SS-18s, each able to carry ten warheads, and around 500 "medium" SS-17s and SS-19s, with four and six warheads respectively. The American MX, which is still under development as well as under heated debate, is about the size of the SS-19, but would have as many warheads as the SS-18. However, even if the controversial MX is eventually deployed, there will be many fewer MXs than Soviet monster missiles.

The Arms and the Talks: A Glossary

The field of arms control is cluttered with jargon, acronyms and initials. Here is a guide to the more important and inescapable terms:

■ **ABM:** Antiballistic missile, a defensive weapon that can shoot down incoming offensive ones.

■ **CRUISE MISSILE:** A jet-powered drone that flies, or "cruises," through the atmosphere, rather than arcing into space on a ballistic trajectory, like a rocket. The cruise missile finds its way to a target by matching the terrain over which it flies against a map stored in its computerized brain. Because it is small (about 18 ft. long) and flies very low, it is difficult for the enemy to track and intercept. There are three varieties: the air-launched cruise missile, ALCM (pronounced *al*-kum), which is fired from a bomber, and the GLCM (glickum) and SLCM (slickum), the ground- and sea-launched versions of the same weapon.



U.S. AIR FORCE

Air-launched cruise missile (ALCM) on test flight

■ **ICBM:** Intercontinental ballistic missile, a rocket usually intended to be fired from an underground silo in the U.S. or U.S.S.R. that can reach the territory of the other superpower. It is the most destructive of strategic weapons, but also the most vulnerable, since until it is fired, it is stationary and can be fairly easily targeted by the other side. The principal American ICBM is the Minuteman III, with three warheads; the main Soviet ones are the SS-18, with ten warheads, and the SS-19, with six.

■ **INF:** Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces, a term that refers to American weapons in Europe that can reach the U.S.S.R. and Soviet weapons targeted against Western Europe. The superpowers began negotiating about INF, then called Theater Nuclear Forces, in 1980.

■ **MIRV:** Multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle, one of a cluster of nuclear warheads mounted on a single missile that can be hurled at different targets.

■ **MX:** "Missile-experimental," a large, ten-warhead ICBM that the U.S. is developing as an eventual successor to the Minuteman and as a counter to the Soviet SS-18 and SS-19.

■ **SALT:** Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, negotiations that began early in the Nixon Administration, producing the 1972 SALT I treaty limiting ABMs and an interim agreement restricting offensive weapons, and ended with the 1979 SALT II treaty, signed by Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev but never ratified by the U.S. Senate.

■ **SLBM:** Submarine-launched ballistic missile. American submarines are harder for the Soviets to track than the other way around, and American SLBMs are more accurate and reliable than their Soviet counterparts.

■ **START:** Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, the Reagan Administration's arms-control negotiations that attempt to improve on the terms of SALT.

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On the other hand, the U.S. has a formidable lead in warheads based on its submarine forces, as well as in those on its bombers and cruise missiles. It is ahead on new frontiers of technology, like the development of so-called Stealth bombers, which will be virtually invisible to radar and therefore less vulnerable to antiaircraft defenses than present-day aircraft. No technological edge is guaranteed to be permanent, but the U.S. has geographical advantages over the Soviet Union as well: far easier access to the open seas for its submarine fleet and to allies around the periphery of the U.S.S.R. whose land and territorial waters offer forward bases for American weapons, particularly cruise missiles. Thus American assets counterbalance Soviet ones in a system that Henry Kissinger has described as one of "offsetting asymmetries." That makes for an overall strategic balance of parity or rough equivalence.

Perle and others did not accept the notion that the asymmetries truly offset each other and that parity still existed between the superpowers. They argued that ballistic missiles, particularly land-based ones, were potential first-strike weapons and therefore the most threatening and destabilizing, while aircraft and cruise missiles were purely retaliatory weapons and should not be subject to limitation. They felt justified in seeking in START the elimination of those asymmetries that favored the Soviet Union and the preservation of those that favored the American side of the equation.

"[The State Department is] trying to maneuver us back into a bankrupt, discredited old way of doing things, trying to fudge on the real issue, which is throw weight."

RICHARD PERLE

Reagan came to accept this rationale, commenting in a number of NSC meetings that he wanted START to discourage the proliferation of "fast flyers," particularly ICBMs, and to reward the retention of "slow flyers," or bombers and cruise missiles. The Soviets, however, see American bombers and cruise missiles as far less benign, arguing that if Stealth technology and cruise missiles work properly, they are just as effective instruments of sneak attack as ballistic missiles. Also, the Administration's concept of a START agreement would mean, in practice, asking the Soviets to transform their forces to fit the model of the more diversified American deterrent.

Throughout 1981 and well into 1982, the Administration was divided into two camps over how to bring this transformation about. One camp, led by Perle, wanted to seek deep reductions in ballistic-missile throw weight, the cumulative lifting power of rockets. Because the preponderance of their strategic forces is in the form of large ICBMs, the Soviets have an advantage of approximately 3 to 1 over the U.S. in throw weight. Equality by that measure would mean that the Soviets should reduce to the American level.

The other camp, led by Burt, opposed throw weight as the bargaining currency, or "unit of account," in START and wanted instead to limit launchers (silos and submarine tubes). Launchers had been the unit of account in SALT, but Burt's scheme would have been far more stringent and one-sided in its impact on Soviet forces than SALT had been. Perle's throw-weight reductions would have been even more so.

When Perle argued for limiting Soviet throw weight directly, by setting a low ceiling on that measurement of nuclear firepower, Burt replied that the same objective could be accomplished indirectly by the combination of warhead and launcher limits. He knew that using throw-weight limitations alone would be totally unacceptable to the Soviets as a unit of account and that "people will say this proposal is designed to fail," while launchers had been the currency of SALT and would therefore be more "plausible" and more negotiable.

Precisely because launchers had figured prominently in SALT, Perle denounced Burt for "trying to maneuver us back into a bankrupt, discredited old way of doing things, trying to fudge on the real issue, which is throw weight." Perle had the support of Eugene Rostow, then director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Edward Rowny, who was to be the chief START negotiator. Rowny had been the representative of the Joint Chiefs during SALT II but had split with them over the merits of the treaty. They had given their lukewarm endorsement to SALT II, while Rowny announced his resignation from the delegation just before the treaty was signed and then campaigned against its ratification.

Seeing that he was outnumbered, Burt looked for a way to give the State Department option what he called "a little sex appeal." He suggested proposing to the Soviets a straight swap: the U.S. would cancel its program to develop the MX if the Soviets would dismantle all 308 of their SS-18 heavies.

Burt got the idea from two veterans of SALT, Lieut. General Brent Scowcroft (ret.), who was advising the Administration on what to do about the MX, and William Hyland, then a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and now the editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Scowcroft and Hyland had been aides to Kissinger and later ran the NSC staff during the Ford Administration.

Perle ridiculed the swap scheme, in part because it came from "the old SALT gang." Burt tried to enlist the support of the Chiefs. On a bright spring day in 1982, Perle was coming down the escalator at the entrance of the Pentagon when he spotted Burt just ahead of him. Perle hailed him and asked what he had been doing.

"Just seeing some people."

"About what?"

"Oh, a number of things."

"Aha!" exclaimed Perle. "I'll bet you've been briefing the Chiefs on START!"

Burt looked pained and headed for his car. Perle complained to the Joint Chiefs about their letting Burt go behind his back.

The main reason for the failure of the idea of trading off the MX for the SS-18 was that the Administration as a whole, and Reagan in particular, decided that the U.S. must have the MX no matter what the outcome of START. Like cruise missiles and bombers, the MX was thus to be unavailable as a bargaining chip. The U.S. might settle for a smaller number of MXs with a START agreement than it would otherwise have deployed, but the missile system was seen as an indispensable part of the U.S.'s "strategic modernization" program.

By the time of the first NSC meeting devoted to START, in April 1982, the State Department's idea of a straightforward trade-off between the MX and the SS-18 was dead, and the advocates of a low throw-weight ceiling seemed to have the upper hand. On the eve of the meeting, Perle circulated a paper that criticized State for advocating an approach that offered "the appearance but not the reality of significant limits on Soviet strategic power . . . and [that] would drive the Administration to a repetition of past mistakes."

Defense Secretary Weinberger made an impassioned appeal at the meeting for using START to confront the Soviet Union with a "challenge" by demanding that it bring its throw weight down

to the U.S. level. Haig rebutted Weinberger. Slamming down his fist and fixing his steeliest gaze on Reagan, Haig warned that the Pentagon's option would be dismissed not just by the Soviets but by the U.S.'s allies as a cynical ploy, and that the result would be "a military and political catastrophe." How the President resolved the dispute, said Haig, would be "the most important decision of your Administration." Rostow sided with Weinberger and delivered a lengthy, withering indictment of Haig, accusing him of timidity and of favoring an approach to START that amounted to "rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic.*" Through much of the debate, Reagan was noticeably distracted and impatient, occasionally interjecting the appeal, "Can't you fellows work this out?"

A Pyrrhic Victory for State

As the May 1 deadline drew closer, Burt again began courting the Joint Chiefs of Staff to see if they would support the State Department against the rest of the Government. As it turned out, they did—for reasons having at least as much to do with their concept of the nation's military needs as their desire to see arms control continue. The Chiefs felt that their civilian colleagues in the Pentagon, Weinberger and Perle, were overrating the importance of throw weight. The Chiefs argued that what gave missile warheads their ability to threaten enemy silos was their accuracy, not their destructive capability, and accuracy was not a function of throw weight. Also, they were determined to see START preserve limits on launchers, and the lower the better.

The Chiefs had two reasons for wanting a low launcher ceiling. First, the fewer ICBM silos and submarine tubes the Soviets were allowed, the fewer high-priority military targets the Chiefs would have to worry about being able to hit in a nuclear war. Second, a low launcher ceiling would enhance the rationale for their cherished MX. Since a single MX will carry ten warheads, it is an efficient way of fitting many warheads under a low launcher ceiling.

On the eve of a May 3 NSC meeting, less than a week before the President was to unveil a proposal in a speech at his alma mater, Eureka College in Illinois, the Joint Chiefs shocked Weinberger and Perle by joining forces with the State Department on a common option. START, they proposed, should contain three limits: 850 missile launchers, 5,000 warheads on all strategic ballistic missiles (SLBMs and ICBMs), 2,500 warheads on ICBMs alone.

This proposal was adopted by the President, but it quickly drew widespread criticism both inside and outside the Administration, and from all across the ideological spectrum. Moderates were concerned that the numbers would still be nonnegotiable: the Soviets were being asked to reduce their ICBM warheads by more than 50%, while the U.S. was below the proposed ceiling and would be able to build up.

Liberal and conservative experts alike criticized the high ratio of warheads to launchers that the proposal would produce. Each side would end up with an ICBM force made up largely of stationary multiple-warhead missiles such as the MX and SS-18. While in their silos, they would be sitting ducks, vulnerable to a pre-emptive strike; once in the air, they might be first-strike weapons. Therefore the incentive of each side to shoot first in a crisis would be increased, and the stability of the nuclear balance would be upset.

Perle said that he thought the 850-launcher ceiling was "crazy," adding, "Fortunately, we can count on the Soviets to save us from the stupidity of our own proposal by never accepting it." He and other hard-liners like Rostow agreed with Democratic critics of the Administration such as Congressmen Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee and Les Aspin of Wisconsin that arms control should encourage "de-MIRVing," the evolution from a reliance on Hydraheaded missiles to small, mobile, single-warhead ICBMs. A de-MIRVed deterrent would theoretically neither tempt nor threaten a pre-emptive attack. Thus, while START was intended to enhance the case for the MX by increasing the ratio of warheads to launchers and by putting a premium on large MIRVed missiles, it inadvertently increased opposition to the big missile in Congress and instead spurred development of the "Midgetman": an entirely new ICBM, a small, single-warhead alternative to the large MIRVed MX.

As a sop to the Pentagon, Haig had suggested a "two-phase" approach to START, with limits to be sought on warheads and launchers in the first phase, and on throw weight in a vaguely defined second phase. The State Department believed it had, in Burt's phrase, "neutralized the throw-weight boys."

"It's not worth our trying to make [throw weight] the be-all and end-all, and it's certainly not productive . . . It'll just gum up the works."

RICHARD BURT

That turned out not to be so. Having listened to Weinberger make the case for throw weight at the NSC meeting, Reagan told McFarlane afterward, "Cap has a point." So McFarlane drafted a secret presidential directive that made throw weight an unpublicized part of Phase 1. In Phase 2 of this plan, the Soviets would have to reduce from more than 5 million kg to the U.S. level of about 2 million kg, but they would also have had to come down to 2.5 million kg in Phase 1.

Perle was able to use this document to regain ground that he had lost to the State Department. Unless the U.S. insisted on the elimination of the entire Soviet SS-18 force and many of the SS-19s and SS-17s as well, he argued, START would not achieve "our mandate from the President" on throw weight. As a compromise, the State Department agreed to "collateral restraints" on Soviet missiles that would cut the SS-18s and SS-19s by two-thirds and require elimination of the somewhat smaller SS-17s. The MX, however, would be virtually unconstrained. Cruise missiles were to be nonnegotiable in Phase 1, although the Soviets would be most eager to limit them, not only because the drones are evasive and highly accurate, but because the U.S. was ahead in development of the drones and had more geographical opportunities for their deployment. Cruise missiles would become negotiable in Phase 2, but only after the Soviet Union had agreed to cut its throw weight by more than 60%.

Given Haig and Burt's goal of preserving some hope that an agreement might be negotiated, the State Department had achieved only a temporary and perhaps Pyrrhic victory over the Pentagon civilians.

Rehearsals in the Bubble

At a press conference in New York City, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko rejected the proposal for a low ceiling on launchers and ballistic-missile warheads that Reagan had announced at Eureka College in May. When the arms talks began in Geneva in late June, Krasnoslav Osadchiyev, who represent-

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ed the Council of Ministers on the Soviet negotiating team, said that the weapons the U.S. was trying to reduce—Soviet MIRVed ICBMs—were "the absolute mainstays of our defense."

The Kremlin then made a counterproposal, offering to lower the ceilings on strategic launchers (ICBM silos, submarine tubes and intercontinental bombers) from the level of 2,250 established by SALT II to 1,800. The Soviets indicated they might accept some limits on warheads, or what they called "nuclear charges," as long as the U.S. was willing to include bomber armaments, particularly cruise missiles, as well as ballistic-missile warheads. But the Americans had no authority to discuss "slow-flying systems"; those were, as Rowny told his counterpart, Victor Karpov, "strictly a Phase 2 issue, and we're in Phase 1." Karpov replied that the two-phase structure amounted to "asking us to buy a pig in a poke" (or, in the Russian idiom he used, "a cat in a sack"): "You say we should reduce our missiles in this first phase, yet you won't tell us what you'll give up in exchange in the second phase."

The negotiations quickly became an exercise in mutual stonewalling. Rowny did not seem to mind. After years as the odd man out in SALT, and with his conviction that the U.S. had caved in to Soviet negotiating tactics too often in the past, he rather enjoyed these new talks. As he put it, "I like watching the other guys squirm and go up the wall a bit. It's no more Mr. Nice Guy with me." He told his staff he was prepared to "hold off the Russians on this cruise-missile thing until hell freezes over." But a number of members of his delegation and key officials of the State Department, especially Burt, realized that the U.S. had to find a way of putting cruise missiles on the table if there was to be any progress at all.

Perle was willing to move "slow-flying systems" from Phase 2 to Phase 1, but only on the condition that throw weight, too, be moved from the periphery to the center of the agenda in the talks. That way a change in the U.S. position that might make it more negotiable would have to be accompanied by another change that was certain to make it even less negotiable. The State Department was hoist with the petard of its own two-phase idea.

During the autumn 1982 round of talks, Rowny was authorized to say that he was now prepared to talk about limits on some cruise missiles—as long as the Soviets were prepared to consider limits on ballistic-missile throw weight. The only cruise missiles the Pentagon would permit to be put on the table in Geneva were the air-launched variety (ALCMs, pronounced *al*-kums), which were already limited in SALT II. Ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs, or glickums) were considered intermediate-range weapons, not strategic ones, and they were being negotiated in INF talks. Sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs, or slickums) were considered exempt because the Navy needed conventionally armed SLCMs, principally as antiship weapons; and the distinction between nuclear and conventionally armed SLCMs was impossible to verify.

Karpov replied that his government considered "throw weight inappropriate as a unit of account because it discriminates against our side." Nor were he and his colleagues impressed by the American shift on cruise missiles, since ground- and sea-launched versions of the weapon would still be unrestricted. As Osadchiyev commented tartly, "You've already made cruise missiles into Stealth weapons. They're invisible in these negotiations and invulnerable to limitations."

The negotiations were as sterile as ever, and preparations for the biweekly meetings were becoming a rare form of torture for some of the Americans. Rowny would assemble his team in the "bubble," a specially designed, bugproof chamber in the U.S. Geneva headquarters, and rehearse the long, often polemical statement that he intended to read to the Soviets at the next session. "At least the Russians only had to listen to the thing once," lamented one of Rowny's colleagues. Rowny's attempts at bonhomie did little to improve morale. At a birthday party for one of the secretaries attached to the delegation, Rowny pulled out a harmonica and asked the group to sing along while he played "the arms-control theme song." The tune he played was *I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles.*

Early in 1983, rumors were circulating that Rowny had prepared a "secret hit list" containing his derogatory estimates of members of the delegation and other Administration officials. "There is no hit list," Rowny kept asserting. But in March it came to light that Rowny had indeed given a private memorandum to Kenneth Adelman, the young conservative deputy to U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, whom National Security Adviser Clark had selected to replace Rostow as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The document criticized various individuals, including Rowny's principal deputy, James Goodby, who was declared suspect on grounds of being too eager for an agreement. (Goodby subsequently left the START delegation and now heads the American negotiating team at the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, which meets in Stockholm.)

"These guys have got a lot to learn."

DAVID JONES

Adelman's nomination was already in trouble in the Senate; it was approved only after vigorous lobbying by the White House. Now a number of legislators called for Rowny's dismissal. Congressman Aspin, who was emerging as a key moderate in the fight to save the MX, warned Clark's deputy McFarlane: "If you guys want to buy yourselves some political running room for START and the MX, there are two ways you can do it. Either you can change the players—fire Rowny and Adelman; otherwise you've got to change the negotiating position."

Outsiders Step In

The principal negotiations throughout 1983 were not between the U.S. and the Soviet Union but between the White House and Congress. The beleaguered MX program was about to run a gauntlet of votes on the Hill, and an increasingly assertive group of Congressmen made it clear that they would continue to support funding only if the Administration adjusted its START proposal to take account of their ideas about what constituted sound arms control.

The main group in the House, led by Aspin and Gore, favored de-MIRVing and Midgetman. Another group in the Senate, led by a Republican, William Cohen of Maine, and a Democrat, Sam Nunn of Georgia, advocated a so-called guaranteed mutual build-down, whereby each side would be required to retire more weapons than it deployed in its arsenal. The build-down was seen by its advocates as a moderate alternative to the freeze that was compatible with the Administration's stated goals of modernization in its defense program (*i.e.*, developing new weapons like the MX) and dramatic reductions as the objective of arms-control talks.

Reagan telephoned Cohen, saying that he liked the build-down idea. But Pentagon and NSC officials did not. Reagan was interested in the possibility of collaboration with moderates on

the Hill; his advisers, however, were concerned about the substance of the build-down proposal, which would lump bombers and cruise missiles together with ballistic missiles. That feature, known as "comprehensiveness" or "aggregation" of bombers and missiles, might have helped in the negotiations, but it was anathema to an Administration that insisted on subjecting to separate and unequal treatment "fast and slow flyers."

McFarlane told Cohen that the build-down scheme was being "thoroughly scrubbed"—*i.e.*, studied—by an interagency committee; McFarlane told his own staff he was hoping that the idea could be "killed with kindness." Suspecting as much, Cohen accused McFarlane of "nitpicking the plan to death." He warned that the Administration's support for the MX was "eggshell thin." On McFarlane's advice, Reagan appointed a commission of outside experts that initially was supposed to answer the old, troublesome question of how to base the MX; later its charter was extended to advise on arms-control policy more generally. The chairman was Scowcroft, who enjoyed considerable respect in Congress.

In April, after close consultation with key Congressmen, the Scowcroft commission issued a report recommending that the MX proceed as a short-term, stopgap measure, but that Midgetman be the principal ICBM of the future. The report recommended that the Administration, in order to make room for numerous Midgetman missiles, lift the 850-launcher ceiling that had been incorporated into the original START proposal at the behest of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The report questioned the Administration's longstanding but widely contested claim that American ICBMs were already vulnerable to pre-emptive attack from the more numerous Soviet ICBMs, and it obliquely criticized the Administration for being unrealistic in the demands it was making on the Soviets in START.

Moderates in the Government, especially in the State Department, welcomed the report, hoping that it would strengthen their hand against the Pentagon. Burt encountered Aspin at a party and told him that the coalition that was forming between the Scowcroft commission and Congress "may yet get this Administration off the dime in arms control. Just keep the pressure up."

The MX survived a number of votes, but by diminishing margins. By last summer, White House officials were hinting to key Congressmen that in addition to the lifting of the 850 ceiling on launchers, a number of the other more unrealistic features of START were "flexible." This applied particularly to the 2,500 ceiling on ICBM warheads and the stipulated two-thirds reductions in SS-18s and SS-19s.

In fact, however, those and other provisions remained on the negotiating table in Geneva, and the Pentagon civilians were pressing for the incorporation of throw weight as a principal bargaining feature. Weinberger succeeded in persuading the Joint Chiefs of Staff not to oppose him this time around. That task was made easier because General David Jones and his fellow holdovers from the Carter Administration had by now retired; the new Chiefs, headed by General John Vessey, were less experienced in arms control and less inclined to lock horns with the Pentagon civilians.

Weinberger also lobbied hard with the new Secretary of State, George Shultz. "Cap has a point about throw weight," Shultz told his startled and discouraged staff after a meeting with Weinberger. It was almost exactly what Reagan had said more than a year earlier. Burt worked to convince the Secretary of State that throw weight would "just gum up the works in the negotiations. It's not worth our trying to make it the be-all and end-all, and it's certainly not productive."

In June the NSC produced what was intended to be a synthesis between the State and Pentagon positions. The Soviets would be told they had a choice: either they could meet the American concern about their excess "destructive capability and potential" by accepting direct limits on throw weight, or they could meet that concern by means of indirect limits involving deep cuts in the number of their large missiles.

While that might have worked as a compromise between the State and Defense departments, it did not look like one to the Soviets. Osadchiyev summed up their response by saying, "Your idea of 'flexibility' is to give a condemned man the choice between the rope and the ax." The U.S., said the Foreign Ministry's Aleksei Obukhov, was still trying to make "dead souls" out of the Soviet Union's most valued weapons.

"I like watching the other guys squirm and go up the wall a bit. It's no more Mr. Nice Guy with me."

EDWARD ROWNY

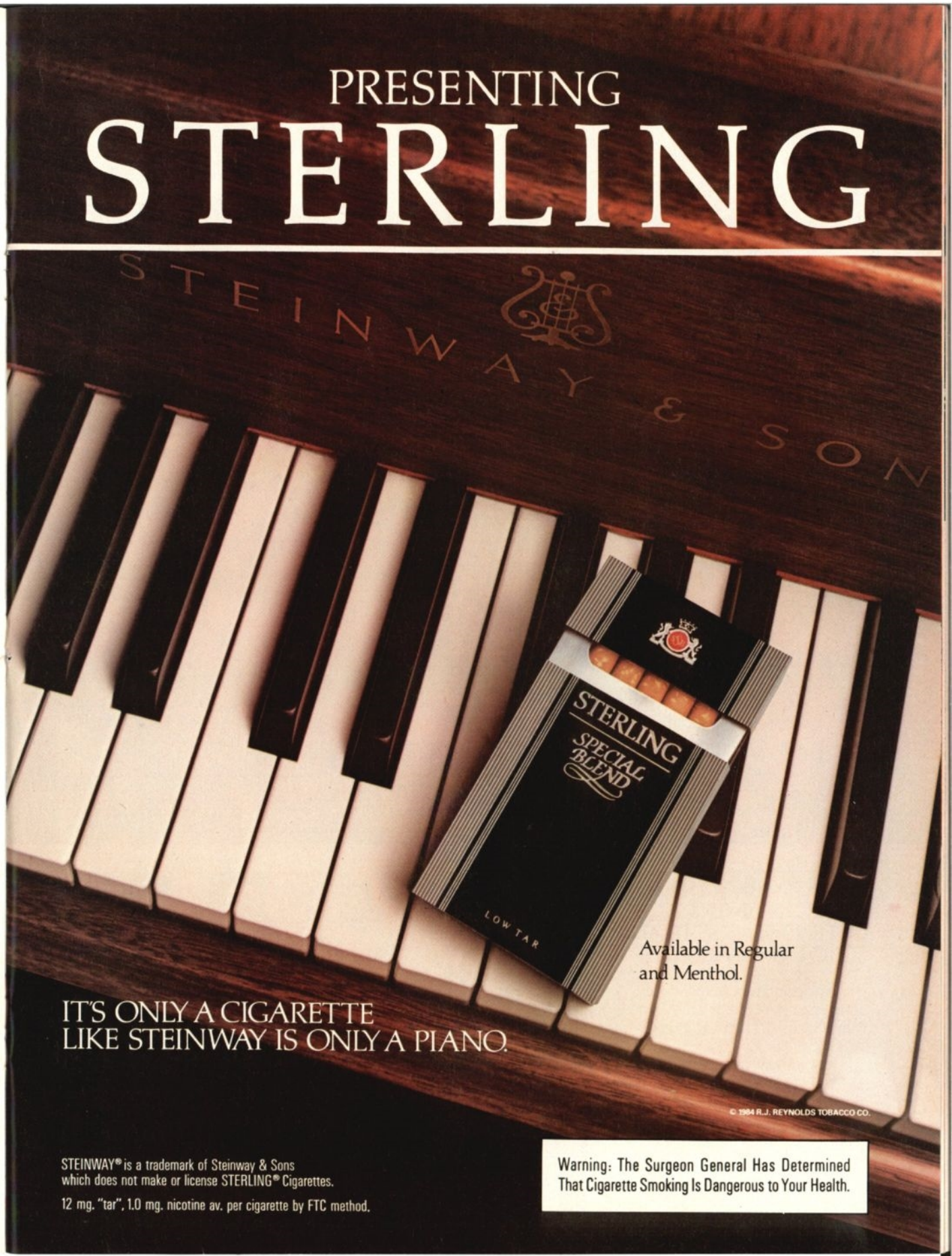
A Kabuki Dance

By August 1983 it was clear that START was as badly stalled as ever. The MX faced yet another vote in the fall. Scowcroft stepped up his attempt to broker a three-way compromise that the Administration, the Midgetmanners and the build-downers could all live with. His right-hand man was R. James Woolsey, a lawyer who had been an adviser to the U.S. SALT delegation and a Pentagon official in the Carter Administration, but was also a vigorous proponent of more "robust" American defense and a believer in the importance of throw weight. He was a friend of both Aspin's and Perle's.

Woolsey and Perle lived near each other in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, and they ran into each other at a neighborhood swimming pool. While their children were splashing around, they talked about the possibility of expanding the concept of throw weight to take into account the payload of bombers, particularly cruise missiles. This, they figured, would satisfy Cohen, Nunn and the other pro–build-down Senators, who were insisting on "comprehensiveness." Perle said it was important that any new plan restrict ballistic missiles more stringently than bombers and cruise missiles, but he did not rule out the possibility of some form of aggregation. Woolsey told Scowcroft that Perle was "ripe for a little discreet massaging, and won't necessarily go on the warpath against us."

The trick now was to figure out how to measure and limit destructive capability in a way that included bombers but was still weighted against ballistic missiles. Scowcroft gave that task to Glenn Kent, a nuclear weapons expert at the Rand Corp.'s office in Washington. Like Scowcroft, Kent was a retired Air Force lieutenant general. He had something of a genius for taking abstract concepts of nuclear peace and strategies for nuclear war and converting them into mathematical formulas.

With the help of another Rand analyst, Ted Warner, Kent devised an intellectually elegant, immensely complex formula that became known as double build-down. It would require both sides to reduce their strategic forces by two measurements: ballistic-missile warheads and a new unit of destructive capability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called a standard weapon station (SWS). That unit might represent bombs, cruise missiles or ballistic warheads.

The double build-down was based on a complicated set of equations with different constants assigned to different sorts of weapons. For example, a large Soviet warhead, like one on an SS-18, would count as a certain number of SWS's, a smaller ballistic warhead on an SLBM, a Minuteman III or even an MX would count as fewer SWS's. A bomber armed with cruise missiles would have a greater SWS total than one armed with bombs.

The Scowcroft commission, the Midgetmanners and the build-downers all joined in what Aspin called a Kabuki dance intended to make the double build-down seem like a joint brainstorm. After consulting closely with Scowcroft, Aspin released a letter calling on the commission to recommend a new START proposal. It was to meet a series of criteria spelled out in an accompanying essay, which in turn was written by Woolsey and was designed to elicit a proposal along the lines of the Kent double-build-down scheme.

Scowcroft's part of the script called for him to respond to Aspin by holding a press conference and by saying that he thought the double build-down "fits well with what the commission has recommended." Flying across the country to attend the funeral of Washington Senator Henry Jackson, Nunn and Cohen conceived a letter similar to Scowcroft's, which they released in mid-September. The Senators stated that the build-down plan that Kent helped devise contained "the ingredients for a bipartisan consensus."

Now it was time for the Administration to join the Kabuki dance. Ronald Lehman, a former aide to Perle now working for McFarlane at the NSC, appealed to a group from the Hill: "There's got to be something here for the President to call his own. You can't leave him in the position of having a major area of his responsibility overhauled outside the Executive Branch."

Scowcroft, Aspin and the others were willing to let the Administration come forward with some version of the double build-down so that it would look like a presidential initiative. But the policymaking machinery of the Administration was close to breaking down. Despite Woolsey's optimistic reading of Perle's attitude, the Pentagon was still fighting the idea of tradeoffs between ballistic missiles and bomber weapons.

"You're asking us to buy a cat in a sack [translation: a pig in a poke]... Ambassador Rowny is not a serious man."

VICTOR KARPOV

The Magna Carta

Meanwhile, Burt and others at the State Department were pushing their own new plan for START. It came to be called the "framework approach," and it would entail keeping launcher limits along the lines of both SALT II and the Soviet proposal in Geneva, but adding limits on warheads and cruise missiles. The U.S. would be giving up, once and for all, its attempt to focus exclusively on fast flyers, particularly MIRVed ICBMs. At the same time, the Soviets would have had to accept much more severe limits on their MIRVs than under their own proposal.

With Defense and State still at loggerheads, the Administration was unable to close ranks behind the double build-down, or any other coherent new initiative in START. In late September the Scowcroft commission and the Congressmen set about to impose their de-MIRVing and build-down goals on the Administration, and they used the MX as leverage. If the Administration wanted to maintain the support for the MX, they said, the big missile would have to fit into a long-term plan in which it would eventually give way to the single-warhead Midgetman.

The White House gave the Congressmen a memorandum of understanding in which the Administration agreed to incorporate into its START proposal the first half of the double build-down: the phased reduction in missile warheads. The second half, involving aggregation of missiles and bombers, might come later. That was not good enough for the Congressmen, especially Cohen. The White House draft was filled with "waffle words," he said. "It's going to have to be a lot firmer before I'm going to support it."

Negotiations continued until Oct. 3, when, at a meeting in the White House Situation Room, a compromise was finally reached—a "Magna Carta," Aspin called it. The Administration's formal START proposal would remain essentially the same, with some additional flexibility on ALCMs, but the U.S. would propose to the Soviets that a separate working group be established to study the double build-down as an alternative to the two sides' formal positions.

Also, Woolsey would be added to the negotiating team. Woolsey's role, said Aspin, was "to make sure that our concerns are represented and to keep Ed Rowny honest over there in Geneva." The Congressmen had little confidence in Rowny or, for that matter, in the President. Reagan seemed genuinely interested in achieving progress, but at the same time he dismayed a number of key Congressmen and even some of his own aides with his evident lack of command over the issues at hand. During encounters with delegations from the Hill last fall, he confessed that he had not realized until more than a year after his Eureka proposal that the Soviet nuclear arsenal was concentrated on ICBMs and that his proposal might therefore have seemed one-sided. In an even more shocking, though no doubt temporary, lapse he suggested that ballistic missiles were more threatening than bombers and cruise missiles because only ballistic missiles were nuclear armed. (In fact, 27% of U.S. strategic nuclear warheads are on bombers and cruise missiles.)

Once the October compromise had been hammered out, Congressmen and Administration officials alike congratulated themselves and each other on having finally achieved the long-sought bipartisan consensus, which would provide the basis for a treaty that could be ratified by the Senate. Whether it would provide the basis for a treaty that could be negotiated with the Soviet Union was another matter. Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin told Aspin and Cohen that his superiors in Moscow regarded the double build-down as "pure propaganda." Besides, he added, how could the Soviet government take it seriously when the Pentagon, the State Department and Rowny were all reported by the press to be against it? The reception in Geneva was no more encouraging, especially since Rowny stressed to Karpov that the "basic position of this Administration has not changed." Karpov cited this as further evidence that "Ambassador Rowny is not a serious man."

The Soviets gave the back of their hand to the double build-down, partly because INF, or Euromissiles, were the issue of the hour, but also because they understood the new proposal in START well enough to know they did not like it. Even before they were officially briefed on the proposal, they had read enough in the press to see that the SS-18 would probably end up counting

twice as much as the MX and that they would have to give up a large portion of their ICBM force.

Karpov said the concept of an aggregated index of destructive potential that discriminated against MIRVed ICBMs was "based on artificial distinctions [between bombers and missiles] and was clearly designed to emasculate our strategic forces." He did not flatly refuse to set up a working group to study the build-down, but he said it would be a "worthless exercise."

In late November the first U.S. Pershing II ballistic missiles arrived in West Germany, and the first Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles were placed in Great Britain. That triggered the long-threatened Soviet walkout from the INF talks. Two weeks later, on Dec. 8, Karpov and his delegation ended the fifth round of START with an announcement that "in view of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe, which has already begun, changes in the global strategic situation make it necessary for the Soviet side to review all problems under discussion." The Soviet Union refused to agree to a date for resumption of the talks in 1984.

Impasse Continues

Gromyko told visiting West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher last month that arms-control talks with the U.S. could not resume unless the U.S. removed its missiles from Germany and Britain. The strong implication was that START, as well as the INF talks, would remain stymied by that Soviet demand. If the Soviet Union is unyielding on that point, there may never be a resumption of serious negotiations.

There are a number of reasons the U.S. cannot and should not remove or even freeze missiles deployed in Europe without adequate Soviet concessions. It was the Soviets who upset the balance in nuclear weapons in the key region of the world covered by INF, principally by the deployment of their triple-warhead SS-20 missiles. Therefore the U.S. and its West European allies are justified in deploying the Pershing IIs and Tomahawks in the absence of a negotiated settlement in INF. Also, the Soviet Union cannot be allowed to veto the implementation of a collective decision of the Western Alliance. Nor should the Soviets be permitted to get their way in diplomacy when they resort to ultimatums and nonnegotiable demands.

The situation in START is different from that in the INF talks in two key respects. First, parity still exists at the level of strategic weapons, and proposals in that area must therefore be seen by both sides as equitable in their impact on existing and projected weapons systems; the "front loading" of Soviet concessions in START is harder to justify than in INF (not to mention harder to negotiate). Second, in START, it is the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union that has been hanging tough with an intransigent and unrealistic position.

Not that the Soviet position should be acceptable to the U.S. in anywhere near its entirety. For example, the Soviet offer of two years ago to reduce launcher ceilings from the SALT II levels would still permit a threatening proliferation of ICBM warheads. Further, that offer was conditioned on the U.S. cancellation of its plans to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Europe. Had the Soviets been willing to remove Euromissiles from the agenda of START and deal only with intercontinental weapons, their position might have led to an acceptable compromise. The result could have been significant though not drastic reductions in their ICBM forces in exchange for limitations on American air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

A number of authoritative Soviets have privately hinted that the troublesome and, from the American standpoint, unacceptable insistence on banning deployment of U.S. Euromissiles as part of a START agreement might eventually have been set aside if there had been progress on other issues in START. But there was none, partly because the American opening position was so objectionable to the Soviets, and was made even more so by the modifications of last year.

Some American and European officials believe that the Soviets will come back to the table on acceptable terms after the U.S. election in November—no matter what the outcome. If they are confronted with the reality of four more years of Reagan, along with the reality of more American missiles in Europe, they will realize their stonewalling has failed and negotiate a compromise in INF. At the same time, they will return to START in order to secure meaningful limits on American cruise missiles and other new strategic weapons that worry them. So goes the analysis inside the Administration.

"If you guys want to buy yourselves some political running room for START and the MX . . . Either you can change the players or change the negotiating position."

LES ASPIN

That optimism may be prescience or wishful thinking. A second Reagan Administration might be ready to try to engage the Soviets in a meaningful compromise in INF. Shortly before the Soviet walkout at the end of last year, the Administration had finally abandoned its zero option (cancellation of the NATO deployments in exchange for elimination of all SS-20s throughout the U.S.S.R.); it was inching toward a reasonable compromise whereby the NATO deployments would be scaled back in exchange for a reduction in European SS-20s, with more lenient treatment for SS-20s in Asia. In the INF talks, the major obstacle was, and remains, Soviet intransigence.

In START, it is just the reverse. The Soviets have from the outset shown signs of being willing to improve on what the Joint Chiefs called SALT II's "modest but useful" regulation of the strategic arms race, but they have yet to see an American proposal that meets them halfway. What would be required is nothing less than a whole new American START negotiating position, one that offers more in the way of genuine concessions on cruise missiles and demands less in the way of drastic reductions in the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces. The best alternative to surface so far is the State Department's framework approach of last year, with its combination of ceilings on launchers (including bombers) and warheads (including cruise missiles).

Whether a second Reagan Administration will adopt a new, more realistic START policy will be determined to some extent by the President's own goals, but he had laudable goals as a candidate and as a newcomer to office. Given his apparent inability to engage himself in the arms-control policymaking process, much will depend on the team to which he delegates the task of realizing his objectives. His current team is dominated by individuals who have proved themselves unable, or unwilling, to pursue strategic arms control in a way that yields progress with the Soviets or that generates support from Congress. ■

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CP

John Turner, the ruling party's new chief, waves to cheering delegates at the convention

CANADA

New Leader for the Liberals

A Toronto lawyer is chosen to succeed Trudeau

With all the hoopla of a midwestern provincial fair, Canada's ruling Liberal Party held a convention in Ottawa last week to choose a successor to Pierre Elliot Trudeau, who has led the country for 15 of the past 16 years. Seven candidates tried to woo the party's 3,500 delegates with barbecued ribs and chicken, corned-beef sandwiches, chips and plenty of suds, rock bands and sightseeing boats. But in the end, after three days of speeches and revelry, the delegates Saturday evening elected on the second ballot the candidate who had been the front runner since the beginning: John Turner, 55, the silver-haired Toronto lawyer who resigned nearly nine years ago as Trudeau's Finance Minister.

As his party's new leader, Turner, who holds no seat in the present Parliament, is expected to be sworn in as Prime Minister shortly. He will lead the Liberals into the next elections, which must be held some time before next spring, against the opposition Progressive Conservatives, led by a political newcomer, Businessman Brian Mulroney, 45. Whichever party wins in what is expected to be a close contest, Canada's next government will undoubtedly be considerably to the right of Trudeau's.

In taking over the Liberals' helm, Turner defeated Jean Chrétien, the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources and a populist who is well regarded in English-speaking Canada as well as his native Quebec. In many respects Chrétien is a more engaging politician than Turner, who is sometimes described as cold and aloof. Turner benefited from the Liberals' longstanding tradition that the party's leadership should alternate between representatives of English- and French-speaking regions. Since Trudeau is from Quebec, the convention would have had to break with custom to choose Chrétien. Moreover, Turner's impressive bearing and boardroom presence probably represent what the delegates feel their countrymen want in a national leader. All at the convention were conscious of the party's shift from the Trudeau era of activism and charismatic leadership. Reflecting on how different last week's proceedings were from the previous time the Liberals chose a leader, in 1968, Trudeau Aide Tom Axworthy remarked ruefully, "It can be argued that the country needs a rest from tumultuous change."

Canada is laboring under annual government deficits of around U.S. $22.6 billion and an 11.7% unemployment rate that rises to 30% or higher among young people in some areas. But even those Canadians who regarded Trudeau as arrogant and a bit prickly will probably miss the man who so resoundingly rejected the adage of Wartime Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King: "Never do by halves what you can do by quarters." Party delegates last week watched a film that chronicled some of Trudeau's accomplishments: the defeat of the Quebec-based separatist movement, the strengthening of the central government and the institution of a policy of bilingualism; the "bringing home" from Britain of Canada's constitution, and his social welfare program. Party President Iona Campagnolo paid the retiring Prime Minister an affectionate tribute. "We were ready to wrap ourselves in the gray cloak of anonymity," she said. "And then we saw you, paddling through white water in a canoe, hurtling down mountains on skis, somersaulting on trampolines, and we asked, 'Is this one of us?' " She continued, "You made us uneasy. You prodded us. But if you could do it, so could we. And we were there."

DILIP MEHTA—CONTACT

Pierre Trudeau at farewell

Trudeau, now 64, had the last word that night. After characterizing his years in office as a time of Canada's "coming of age," he concluded, "In two days we will choose a new leader, and you will find me there following him because we have much more building to do." As he left the stage, he spun a pirouette, recalling a playful twirl he once performed for photographers behind the back of Queen Elizabeth II in Buckingham Palace.

Trudeau asked his 37-member Cabinet to stay in Ottawa this Friday, the day after Parliament is adjourned. At that point, if events follow the traditional script, Trudeau and his Cabinet will walk to the office of Governor General Jeanne Sauvé and offer their resignation. She will accept and call on John Turner to form a Cabinet. Turner will agree and immediately offer a list of the members of his new Cabinet. The Governor General will swear them all in, and Canada will have a new government. Since Parliament will already have adjourned, Turner will be spared the embarrassment of having to rule from the gallery of the House of Commons. Until he becomes an elected member of Parliament, he cannot enter the floor of the House.

National elections may be at the top of Turner's agenda. After trailing the Conservatives in opinion polls for the past year, the Liberals now hold a tenuous lead. Argues Liberal Senator Royce Frith: "Don't talk about Queens and Popes, do it now." He refers to forthcoming visits by Queen Elizabeth II and Pope John Paul II, neither of whom would care to get caught up in a Canadian election campaign. One widely mentioned date is Aug. 27, which falls a month after the end of the Queen's visit and almost two weeks before the arrival of the Pope.

A notable characteristic of the campaign will be the similarity of the major party leaders, Turner and Mulroney. Both are attractive politicians who have mostly been out of public life in recent years; both are lawyers with corporate experience. Neither would dismantle Canada's existing social welfare program, but both want to cut government deficits and unemployment and increase foreign investment. After calling last week on his countrymen to "reach for the stars in a land that has no horizon," Turner promised to promote his country as best he can. Shouted the next Prime Minister: "I'll get out and sell for Canada, and sell our products abroad." —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Marcia Gauger/Ottawa*

INDIA

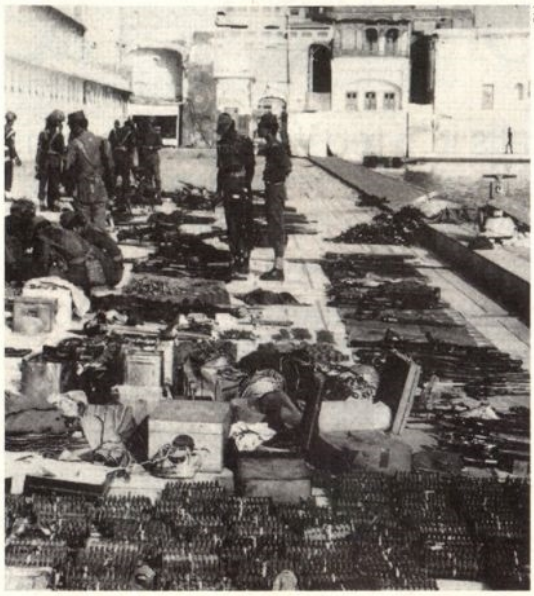
Diamonds and the Smell of Death

The army cleans up, as calm returns to Punjab

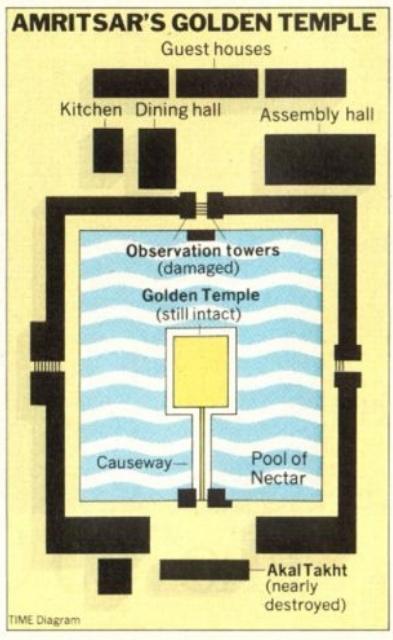
The guns fell silent last week around the Sikhs' Golden Temple complex in Amritsar, Punjab, leaving a tentative, uneasy calm in their wake. Steel-helmeted troops were positioned on many street corners, ready to quell any new outbreak of violence. The revered Golden Temple remained intact, but surrounding buildings lay in ruins or were seriously damaged. The destruction was a testament to the bloody battle that raged there for 36 hours earlier this month, after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the army to attack more than 1,000 heavily armed Sikh extremists barricaded inside the temple grounds. The latest casualty figures: 582 dead and 753 wounded. Among the dead, shot through the right temple according to one general on the scene, was Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the fanatical leader of the extremists.

For 14 days the government had imposed a ban on any news coming out of Punjab. But last week a small pool of Western and Indian journalists was flown into Amritsar by the Indian government to view the scars of battle. No cameras were allowed, and journalists were not permitted to question officials. Taking great care to preserve the sanctity of the Golden Temple, soldiers mopped blood off the ornate marble floors and cremated the last of the bodies on funeral pyres. Almost all the buildings around the temple complex had sustained damage, including the observation tower and water tower, the first structures to be hit by army rockets. The Akal Takht, the second-holiest place within the complex, where much of the fiercest fighting took place, was devastated beyond recognition. One floor was ankle-deep in spent shells, empty cartridges and machine-gun clips; balconies had been showered with splintered glass; walls were black with smoke; once delicate ornamental writing and splendid furniture were gone. An army officer said 50 soldiers and Sikhs had been killed and 200 wounded in the storming of the building. "I lost 17 of my choicest men," he said. "They were hurling grenades at my men."

As the journalists climbed the Akal Takht's narrow stairs, they were overcome by the lingering smell of death: many bodies had lain for days, trapped in the rubble. Frogmen dived in the Pool of Nectar surrounding the Golden Temple in search of more bodies and found $300,000 in rupees, almost 9 lbs. of gold and a sack of diamonds. A high-frequency transmitter and a teleprinter were also discovered in a well and in the temple lodgings. In other areas of the temple grounds, troops uncovered cache after cache of arms and ammunition, including a grenade factory that had been operated by Bhindranwale's followers. But the gold-domed temple proper, which sits in the center of the complex, was unmarked by the battle. Government spokesmen stressed that the army had gone to great efforts to preserve the sanctuary, even taking more casualties than would have been normal in order to preserve it. Many Sikhs, however, were unimpressed. "It is the same as telling a Catholic," said one Sikh at the temple, "that St. Peter's remains, but the Sistine Chapel is gone."



Uncovered in the temple: grenades, guns and explosives



When the government-imposed curfew was finally lifted in some parts of Punjab, Sikhs emerged profoundly shaken, yet more strongly united by a sense of alienation. In eight separate incidents, young Sikh army recruits mutinied and deserted in protest. Some raided army arsenals or attacked non-Sikh troops. By week's end, 3,097 Sikhs had been arrested as deserters and another 55 killed in shootouts with loyal army units.

Mrs. Gandhi insisted her decision to storm the temple complex was the right and only one. She had failed in her attempts to negotiate with the Sikhs' Akali Dal Party over demands for increased water and territorial rights, social and linguistic concessions and exclusive control of the Punjabi capital, Chandigarh, all of which had sparked the violence. By early this year, it was apparent to her that Bhindranwale had become so popular he had usurped the Akali's authority, leaving the party impotent in negotiations and fearful of his violent fanaticism. No matter how long she talked to the Akalis, Mrs. Gandhi concluded, they could never deliver on an agreement that would hold while Bhindranwale was alive. And giving in totally to Sikh demands, Mrs. Gandhi believed, would have encouraged other Indian communal groups to extremism.

In making her decision to attack, the Prime Minister relied largely on Indian intelligence reports indicating that Bhindranwale and his followers were stockpiling vast quantities of weapons inside the temple. Said one report: "Bhindranwale has an arsenal of weapons any guerrilla army in the Third World would be proud to call its own. He is preparing to attack the government."

Intelligence sources also showed that the temple had become a haven for smugglers who had helped the militants finance their arms buildup through the transport and sale of heroin, hashish, and stolen gold, silver and jewels. Furthermore, reports claimed, the smugglers took Sikh extremists into secret camps in Pakistan and in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, where they received military training. Mrs. Gandhi has not accused the Pakistani government of complicity in the Sikh extremist movement, which the Pakistanis have denied anyway.

Well aware of the pain she has inflicted in the cause of maintaining unity in the world's largest democracy, Mrs. Gandhi has indicated that she will eventually reopen negotiations with the Sikhs and reconsider their demands. "We are all bruised," said one top-level Indian official. "We have killed our own people. India's future and its soul now depends on our humanity, on gentle, forgiving, patient wisdom." ***—By Laura López. Reported by Dean Brelis/New Delhi***

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THE VATICAN

Thickening Plot

Agca's story gets support

In some secret place, where every secret is wrapped in another secret, some political figure of great power took note of this most grave situation [the imposing rise of Solidarity in the summer of 1980] and, mindful of the vital needs of the Eastern bloc, decided it was necessary to kill Pope Wojtyła.

—Official report of the Italian state prosecutor

After Pope John Paul II was shot in St. Peter's Square more than three years ago, Turkish Gunman Mehmet Ali Agca spun for Italian investigators a web of contradictions, phony confessions and outright lies. But one of his revelations has continued to gain ground as an explanation of the assassination attempt: Agca was hired to kill the Pope by the Bulgarian secret service and, implicitly, the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

Last week that theory received support in an official document that recommended indictments and revealed the intricacies of Agca's account. The 78-page confidential report, made public by freelance Investigative Reporter Claire Sterling* in the New York *Times*, was compiled by State Prosecutor Antonio Albano and drawn from some 25,000 pages of material assembled by Investigating Magistrate Ilario Martella. The report details Agca's longstanding association with the Turkish Mafia and the Gray Wolves, an ultrarightist band of Turkish terrorists. It goes on to discuss his recruitment by the Bulgarian secret service and his bungled shooting and failed escape. While taking scrupulous pains not to mention the Soviet Union by name, the report recommends the indictment of three Bulgarians, including Sergei Ivanov Antonov, 36, who is already in Italian custody, and six Turks, Agca among them.

Albano

Albano's summary is, in essence, the case for the prosecution. Completed in April, it is exhaustive in its detail, including personal descriptions and seemingly trivial events. Although it establishes that Agca often told the truth about his meetings with the others accused in the case, it furnishes only the beginnings of proof that there was indeed a plot to kill the Pope. Albano rests much of his case that there was a Bulgarian connection on Agca's memory and on his precise descriptions of the habits and physical features of several Bulgarian agents. The Pope's would-be killer reeled off the unlisted phone number of one Bulgarian; he recalled correctly that a second Bulgarian called his wife Rosy and tended to get breathless while walking; he knew of a wart on the left cheek of a third Bulgarian that is so small no photograph could catch it.

Italian police keep a firm grip on Antonov

Were the Bulgarians behind the plot?

More important, the prosecutor's report sheds light on some of the affair's most obstinate mysteries. What did Agca stand to gain from the assault? According to Albano: more than $400,000 in deutsche marks plus expenses. Why did the hit man remain in St. Peter's Square after the shooting? In Albano's account, after Agca took aim, his partner, Oral Celik, was supposed to let off two "panic bombs" to distract attention. The two collaborators would jump into a waiting car, then transfer to a sealed Transport International Routier (T.I.R.) truck hired by the Bulgarian embassy, which could legally cross the border unchecked. But for some reason Celik never detonated the bombs, says the report, and was forced to make his escape alone. Albano also included evidence that strongly suggests a Bulgarian cover-up: the Bulgarian embassy requested with unprecedented and unexplained urgency that the truck be exempt from inspection; the Bulgarians had strenuously denied the existence of the unlisted phone number that Agca cited; the alibi of one Bulgarian suspect was thoroughly shattered.

For the past two months Antonov's defense lawyer, Giuseppe Consolo, has been working on a point-by-point rebuttal of the prosecutor's opinion. Not surprisingly, Consolo confidently claims that his client will be acquitted when the case comes to trial. Before that can happen, however, Martella must release his own findings. Assuming that he arrives at conclusions similar to Albano's, he is expected to deliver an indictment this September that would lead to a trial that might begin in December. ■

*Late last year, Sterling brought out a book, *The Time of the Assassins*, that meticulously expounded the theory of a Bulgarian connection. It was greeted with some skepticism in many quarters, including the pages of the New York *Times*.

POLAND

In from the Cold

A crackdown snares a fugitive

Poland's campaign for the June 17 nationwide elections had just entered its final tense week. In Gdansk's southern neighborhood of Orunia one night, 200 troops and antiterrorist police swooped down on a four-story apartment house and began a floor-by-floor sweep of the building. Residents who did not respond had their doors broken down. On the roof, police cornered their quarry: Bogdan Lis, 31, a former leader of Solidarity, the outlawed trade union, and the No. 2 man in the antigovernment underground. He had been in hiding since martial law was declared on Dec. 13, 1981.

Though the opposition's top figure, Zbigniew Bujak, 29, remained at large, the capture of Lis depressed efforts to organize a boycott of Sunday's elections for 7,040 regional and 103,388 local posts. Lis had led the campaign, urging Poles to deny the military regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski the opportunity to claim it had the support of the people.

Polish authorities announced that Lis was captured with several incriminating documents, including a letter from a Solidarity leader in Brussels indicating that the AFL-CIO, the giant U.S. labor organization, had contributed $200,000 to the underground and suggesting that more money might be forthcoming if the election boycott was successful. Lis was charged with failing to end his role in Solidarity when the trade union was suspended, founding an illegal organization, entering into agreements with foreign organizations and using false identity documents.

Lis on Polish TV

Boycott activity had been considerable in recent weeks. Underground members in Gdansk turned loose several pigs, painted red and bearing signs that said VOTE FOR US. In Warsaw, thousands of leaflets urging voters not to "collaborate" in the election fluttered from buildings or were posted in stairwells and elevators.

Voting procedures were designed to assure a thumping Communist victory. Those who endorsed the government's first choice for candidacies had only to pick up their ballot and deposit it in a box, while those who selected the official second choice or decided to write in a name had to enter a curtained voting booth. This meant that voters who dissented from the approved candidates could easily be identified. Few Poles were predicting that the boycott would be successful, but almost no one expected the government to get the 99% turnout common in East bloc elections. ■

World Notes

THE GULF

Straws in the Desert Wind

The signs are inconclusive but fascinating. First, Iran has failed to launch the "all-out" ground offensive that was supposed to destroy the Iraqi government of President Saddam Hussein. Then, last week, both Iran and Iraq, at the behest of United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, agreed to refrain from attacking civilian targets, at least for a while. Later they also agreed to allow U.N. observers to be stationed between their armies. In the meantime, the speaker of the Iranian parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani, declared that Iran would call off its assaults on shipping in the Persian Gulf if Iraq would do the same.

What does all this mean? One opinion is that Iran's Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini is coming around to a more pragmatic position. Another is that he is simply trying to convince the U.S. that Iran is not out to get Washington's gulf allies and that the U.S. should therefore not "tilt" in favor of Iraq. The latter view assumes that Iran's war aims have not changed and will not until Saddam Hussein falls or Khomeini dies.

SWITZERLAND

The Pope Stands His Ground

One month after meeting spear-carrying warriors in the South Seas, Pope John Paul II visited alien territory again: Switzerland, where his conservatism has drawn fire from both Protestants and liberal Catholics. But throughout his six-day tour last week, the Pope stood his ground. Before the World Council of Churches in Geneva, he stressed his "irreversible" commitment to Christian unity, then reaffirmed that papal authority is inviolate. When questioned in Fribourg about academic freedom and relations with Israel, he genially moved on to other matters.

AP

The Pope in Fribourg

The energetic Pontiff visited the ancient monastery at Einsiedeln, spoke in four languages and exhorted Swiss bankers to bring lofty principles to the world of high finance. Editorialized the Swiss opinion weekly *L'Hebdo:* "The Protestants may be a little jealous of Rome's marketing prowess."

LEBANON

From Blood to Votes

In Beirut, tragedy and normality have come to seem almost interchangeable. Last Monday, rockets and artillery fire began raining down upon both Christian and Muslim residential areas, leaving at least 100 people dead. One day later, representatives of both groups gave a vote of confidence in parliament for the six-week-old government of Prime Minister Rashid Karami.

UPI

Weeping while Beirut burns

But on Wednesday, a Cabinet meeting was postponed because of shelling two days earlier. Said Cabinet Minister Nabih Berri: "We will have to wait until the blood has dried." The need for a solution in southern Lebanon was brought sharply home by mounting Muslim resistance to the Israeli presence. At week's end an explosives-laden car blew up near three Israeli armored personnel carriers, killing the driver and wounding five soldiers.

SOUTH AFRICA

Embarrassment for Botha

During his 16-day, eight-nation tour of Western Europe, which concluded last week, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha emphasized his eagerness to resolve the issue of Namibia, the South West African territory that his nation has ruled for decades in defiance of the United Nations. In Bonn and London, Botha agreed to remove his troops from the area on condition that five West European nations take over at their own expense and, at the same time, that Cuba withdraw its forces from neighboring Angola. In Zurich, Botha guaranteed "safe passage" for Sam Nujoma, head of the nationalist South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to discuss independence in the Namibian capital of Windhoek.

Meanwhile, back in Namibia, scores of camouflaged policemen were stealing up on a group of 37 SWAPO leaders and supporters enjoying a barbecue. All 37 were jailed without charge, then released from custody just as abruptly four days later. Were Botha and his government embarrassed by the timing of the arrests? "Yes," snapped a government official in Pretoria. "Next question."

BRITAIN

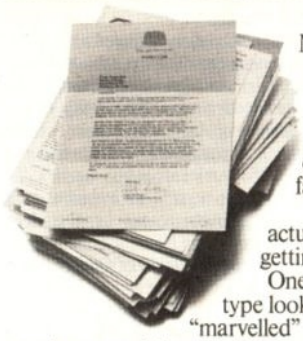
Lines on a Laureate-to-Be

Sir John Betjeman's death last month has left
A title vacant and his Queen bereft.
Who now will hymn enduring England's glories,
Her verdant greenery and ruling Tories;
Who is to laud Elizabethan splendor,
Monarchic births and teas, and sterling tender?
Who, in short, can fill a post so hoary it
Dates back to Dryden, the first Poet Laureate?
Since then, succeeding crowns have given benison
To sixteen poets, e.g., *Wordsworth, Tennyson;*
And some who scaled Parnassus not as high,
Including Tate, Rowe, Cibber, Eusden, Pye.
All talents, large or nil, agreed to nurse
Knee-jerk reactions into public verse
And rhyme most gravely when the royalty ails,
Thus Alfred Austin on a Prince of Wales:
"Across the wires the electric message came:
'He is no better, he is much the same.' "

These troubled times and England deserve no less
Than similar proclamations of distress
Or cheer, when suitable events arise:
Bank holidays, that look of Princess Di's.
And so from moors to Fleet Street the search is on
For a successor to the late Sir John.
The guessing and the gossip chiefly hearken
To the metrical skills of Philip Larkin,
Who writes both well and seldom. Other views:
Why not Gavin Ewart or Ted Hughes?
Added to the names, obscure and famous,
Have been D.J. Enright, Kingsley Amis.
So many bards, and just one regal boon,
What hearts beat fast, this merry month of June!
It falls on Mrs. Thatcher to recommend
One candidate; uncertainty will end.
The Queen can then bestow her imprimatur
On the Muse Erato's favored son . . . or daughter?

Love letters from secretaries.

XEROX



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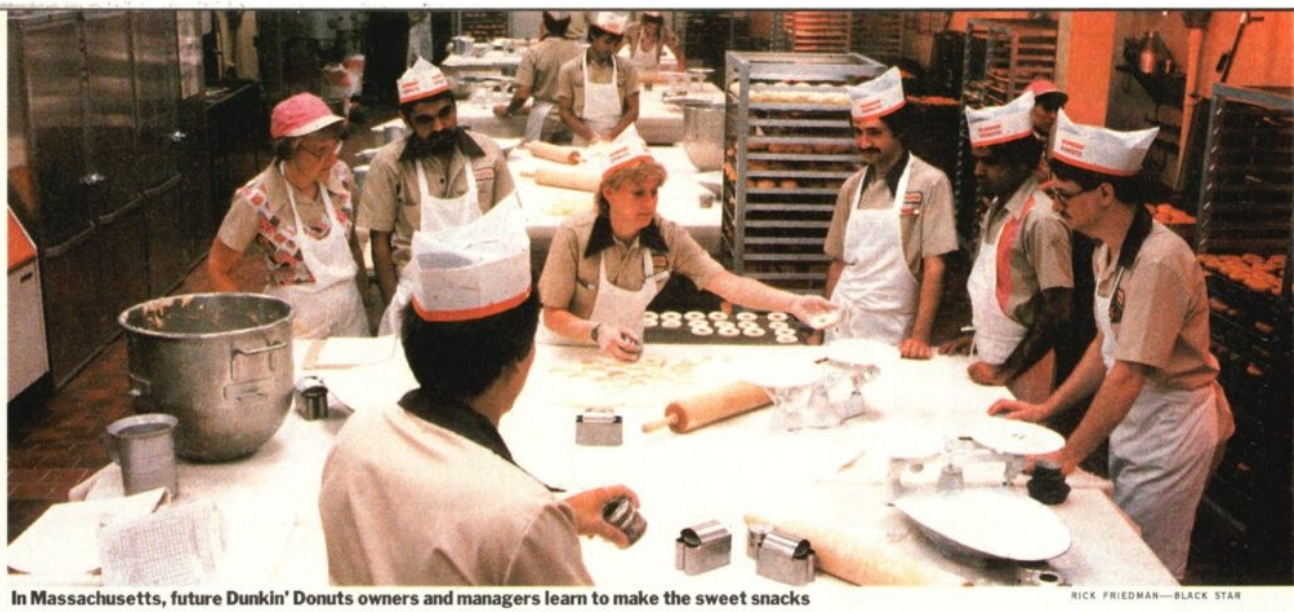


In Massachusetts, future Dunkin' Donuts owners and managers learn to make the sweet snacks

RICK FRIEDMAN—BLACK STAR

Economy & Business

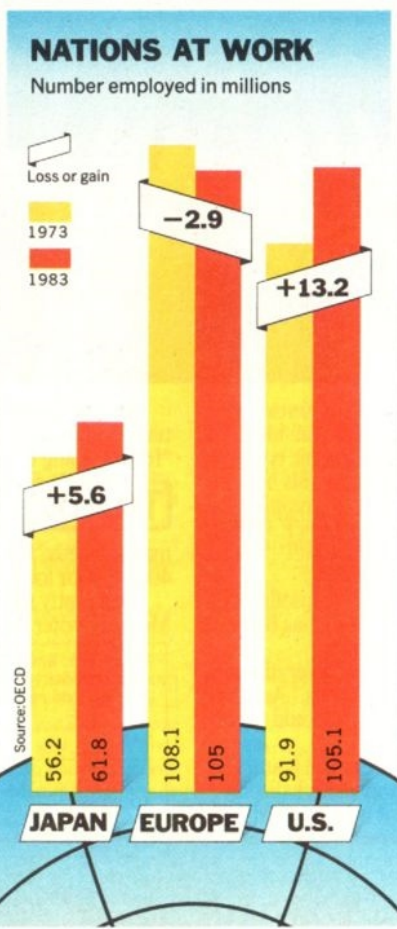
A Remarkable Job Machine

The creation of new employment in the U.S. has become the envy of the world

"They simply cannot get over it. They cannot understand why we can create all these jobs, and they cannot."

So said a top American policymaker after this month's London economic summit. He was still surprised by what he had been hearing. While many Americans correctly worry about their country's staggering budget deficit and balance-of-trade troubles, the Europeans and the Japanese are impressed by the record of the U.S. economy in creating new jobs. Says French Finance Minister Jacques Delors: "The dynamism of American researchers, workers and entrepreneurs is one of the reasons for their recovery." Since the recession struck bottom in November 1982, the U.S. has created jobs at a pace unmatched in post–World War II history. More than 6.3 million people have found work during the recovery, and unemployment has tumbled from 10.7% to 7.5%.

The American performance over the past decade is even more impressive. Despite woes that ranged from energy crises to runaway inflation, and regardless of whether Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan occupied the White House, the U.S. has managed to generate a total of 13 million new jobs, or a 14% increase. Western Europe, by contrast, has lost some 3 million jobs during the same period, while Japan, for all its competitive might, has added 5.6 million positions for a 9% gain. Manfred Wegner, former chief economist of the European Community, calls it simply "the American miracle."



To be sure, joblessness remains a serious and painful U.S. blight. More than 8 million Americans are still out of work. Moreover, some critics charge that the American job surge, which has been highlighted by the creation of nearly 2 million new fast-food and other restaurant positions, is turning the U.S. into a nation of hamburger helpers at the expense of jobs in basic industries. But no one can begrudge the achievement. "By any measure," says John Bregger, chief employment analyst for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "the growth we have had has been most dramatic."

While the U.S. is considered the land of Big Business, most of the new jobs have been created by fast-growing small and medium-size companies. The 100 most rapidly expanding U.S. firms last year, according to *Inc.* magazine, employed an average of 506 workers each, up 835% since 1979. By contrast, the members of FORTUNE magazine's roster of the 500 largest industrial firms have shed 2.2 million jobs, or more than 10% of their workers, during the same period.

The burgeoning new companies reflect the American genius for spotting business opportunities and starting new enterprises. Don Clifford, an executive with McKinsey & Co., the business consultants, has studied mid-size growth firms and concluded that

JUNEBUG CLARK

STEVE LISS

Timberland added 900 workers in five years

Scheduling surgery personnel at Cleveland Clinic: health-care occupations are growing fast

the secret of their success is "an obsessed leader: the guy who eats, lives and breathes his company." Clifford found companies like these in virtually every industry and in every region of the U.S.

One such driven leader is Michael Blumenfeld, 37, president of BSN Corp. (1983 sales: $20 million), a Dallas mail-order sporting goods house. Seventeen years ago, Blumenfeld was laid off from his job as an industrial-guard supervisor. Noticing that tennis nets on public courts were often in tatters, the fledgling entrepreneur loaded 100 new nets into his Volkswagen van and set out on his first sales trip, returning a few weeks later with a $4,000 profit. Today, BSN markets more than 2,000 items, including golf clubs and tennis wear, and its payroll has blossomed from 21 workers to 250 in the past five years. Says Blumenfeld: "One of our biggest problems is holding on to secretaries and accountants, because they are needed all over town."

Other entrepreneurs thrive on challenges that can daunt larger firms. Few industries have shrunk more in recent years than American shoe manufacturing, which has seen imports walk off with much of its business. Yet the Timberland shoe company (1983 sales: $60 million), based in the rural hamlet of Newmarket, N.H., has weathered the foreign onslaught and added 900 workers over the past five years. "We benefited from the lack of imagination of some of the other old shoe companies around here," says Herman Swartz, president of the family-owned concern. Fully one-quarter of Timberland's sales have come from exports since its classic penny loafers became a hit in Europe.

Much of America's job growth is in the service sector. Workers performing every task from plumbing to neurosurgery have increased from 53% of the labor force in 1950 to 70% today. In the 1970s, the largest gain in total employment was made by secretaries, whose numbers rose by nearly 1 million. That was followed by a 556,000 increase in cashiers and the addition of 501,000 registered nurses.

Indeed, health care has been a major source of new jobs. The 63-year-old Cleveland Clinic has become one of that city's largest private employers. Surgeons at the hospital perform some 4,000 coronary bypasses a year, and a $500 million building program is under way to expand the 1,000-bed facility. The hospital's payroll has almost tripled during the past ten years, to 7,400 professional and hourly workers, including 2,000 residents of the largely black Hough district that surrounds the clinic.

Surprisingly, few new jobs are coming from high technology, which is often seen as the soul of the new U.S. economy. While advanced technical positions are growing fast, they still make up a small part of the total work force. For example, the number of computer systems analysts surged by 171% in the past decade, to lead all other occupations. Yet such highly educated professionals increased by only 127,000 during that period, or less than one-third the job gains recorded by cooks. In all, high-tech positions account for only about 13% of U.S. employment.

Such numbers can be deceiving, however, because high technology has an explosive impact on other occupations. Says Jerome Rosow, an Assistant Labor Secretary under President Nixon: "It generates jobs all around like a great catalyst." In Fort Worth, which is part of the so-called Silicon Prairie computer and electronics area of northeast Texas, high tech has added fewer than 10,000 positions since 1979, but it has helped to create service opportunities for another 92,000 workers.

Not everyone is thrilled, though, with the results of America's employment miracle. Critics charge that many of the new service jobs pay far less and require fewer skills than the blue-collar occupations that have been dwindling. The result, they say, is that the number of middle-class workers is steadily shrinking. Asserts Harvard Economist Richard Freeman: "For the first time in American economic history, the shift is toward lower-wage industries."

Many of the new positions do indeed depend on the willingness of workers to accept relatively low pay. America's wage bill has risen much more slowly than those of its major competitors. In the U.S., inflation-adjusted labor costs were up 8.9% during the 1970s, in contrast with leaps of 48.7% in Western Europe and more than 50% in Japan. When increases in U.S. manufacturing wages are excluded, U.S. labor costs actually fell 2.8%. Says British Economist Stephen Marris: "Americans have priced themselves into jobs by accepting lower real wages. Europeans have not."

The flexibility of American workers has helped spur employment gains in other ways. While French or German workers are usually reluctant to pick up and move to get a new job, Americans seem to be born under a wandering star. Four years ago, Bill Lehto, 27, moved to Fort Worth after losing his $7-an-hour job outside Detroit. Now working as a factory machine operator, Lehto earns an hourly wage of $7.90. "I like it here," he says. "Costs are much less, and on weekends we head out to hit the bass in the rivers and lakes. You get over your homesickness."

But despite the preponderance of lower-paying occupations among jobs that have been created, many skeptics overstate their case. Accountants, engineers,

doctors, lawyers and other skilled individuals are all part of the service economy, along with such rapidly increasing support personnel as paralegal workers and teachers' aides. Indeed, some experts have concluded that any shrinkage in the size of the middle class in recent years has been caused by people moving up rather than down. Says Brookings Institution Economist Robert Lawrence: "Many income earners have managed to raise their wages so much that there has been a growth in upper-class jobs."

Even such an oft-disparaged occupation as fast-food cashier has its advantages. The counters of inner-city Burger Kings and McDonald's are staffed largely by black teen-age women, who might have difficulty finding jobs elsewhere. The part-time nature of much of the employment also benefits working mothers. Says Mary Ellen Vaughn, manager of a St. Louis Jack in the Box: "The schedule here has been ideal for me because it is flexible." Nor must fast-food jobs invariably be dead ends. Massachusetts-based Dunkin' Donuts (1983 sales: $60 million) has a "Step Up to Excellence" promotion program that encourages workers to rise to managerial ranks that pay an average of $30,000 a year. And franchise operators, many of them Asian and Latin-American immigrants, can become millionaires. Says Dunkin' Donuts Chairman Robert Rosenberg: "Today we are the way into the middle class and the American dream."

Those who have suffered most from the trends in U.S. employment are laid-off steel- and autoworkers, some of whom had been making more than $20 an hour in wages and benefits. While total manufacturing jobs have grown by 1.5 million since the pit of the recession, about 500,000 employees have never found other positions. In St. Louis, where Ford's Hazelwood plant has added a second shift, overall automotive jobs are nonetheless expected to reach a plateau of about 20,000, one-third below the 1979 peak.

The plight of the once highly paid but now displaced workers has spawned an exceptionally varied response. Some critics maintain that the heavily unionized employees have simply priced themselves out of jobs. Says Marc Bendick, senior research associate at Washington's Urban Institute: "The supergood industrial jobs, which pay superwages for relatively low skills, will disappear because of competitive pressures." To others, the laid-off employees are a national crisis. Says Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca: "To keep telling the people out of work in Pittsburgh or Detroit that they should become computer technicians or go into a service business is just a cruel hoax."

The problems of displaced workers have led to calls for political action to shore up sagging industries. Such measures include local-content legislation, which would require up to 90% of the parts of imported cars to be American-made, and industrial policies that would funnel federal money to depressed sectors. But most economists join the Reagan Administration in opposing those steps on the ground that they amount to life-support systems for jobs and companies that may no longer be viable.

Meanwhile, what Government help there is for dislocated workers has been largely ignored. Though Congress has appropriated $204 million for job training during the past two years, only $35 million has been spent. Most retraining, in fact, is provided by private companies for their own employees, making it even tougher for the unemployed to find work any time soon. In Detroit, community colleges have had great difficulty placing graduates of their two-year robotics programs because automakers have been giving short courses on that subject to senior factory hands.

Black teen-agers, whose unemployment rate continues to hover at an intolerably high 40% to 50%, about triple that of their white counterparts, have gained little from the outpouring of jobs. To raise jobless youths' chances of finding work, the Administration has submitted a controversial bill creating a teen-age minimum wage of $2.50 an hour during summertime. The measure has been bitterly attacked by unions, who fear that it would undermine the current $3.35-an-hour rate. Says AFL-CIO Chief Economist Rudy Oswald: "We believe people should be paid for their work, not for their age or for their color."

In any case, far more than lower pay will be needed to create jobs for black teen-agers. For example, though a recent tax credit cut the wage costs of firms that hire disadvantaged youths in the summer to just 50¢ an hour, few companies took advantage of it when it was introduced last year. "Employers just don't want those kids in their plants," says the Urban Institute's Bendick. Concurs a Government economist: "To attack the problem of black-youth unemployment as simply a job problem and only worry about the minimum wage is not the solution."

Many experts believe that the recent job trends will continue for the foreseeable future. Service-industry jobs should climb to 73% of the work force by 1995, *vs.* some 70% today. Major gainers are expected to be secretaries, cashiers, nurses and salesclerks, according to projections of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Manufacturing employment's share, meanwhile, is likely to hold steady. The decline in basic industries should be offset by gains in such growing fields as medical and dental instruments, computers and communications gear.

Although the number of people in high-tech occupations will continue to grow, it will be dwarfed by jobs requiring little or no higher education. An additional 53,000 computer technicians will be needed by 1995, but business will be looking for 800,000 building custodians. Observed Stanford University Researchers Russell Rumberger and Henry Levin in a recent study: "Neither high-technology industries nor high-technology occupations will supply many new jobs during the next decade."

Overall, the U.S. is undergoing shifts in employment similar to those that have taken place regularly since the industrial revolution. When millions of jobs were lost on farms, new ones in industries such as steel and textiles grew up. The expansion of services and the shrinkage of some older occupations now are signs of the same natural growth and aging process. As long as American business can maintain its flexibility and innovative spirit, the number of Americans at work should continue to grow. ***—By John Greenwald. Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York***

WHERE THE JOBS ARE

Ten best states

Number employed in thousands*

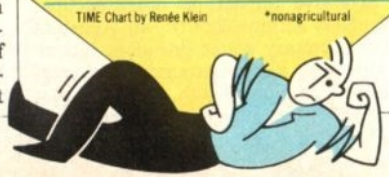
	1973	1983	% change
Alaska	110	213	+94
Nevada	245	405	+65
Wyoming	126	203	+61
Texas	4,142	6,174	+49
Arizona	715	1,064	+49
Colorado	936	1,322	+41
Florida	2,779	3,893	+40
N. Mexico	346	478	+38
Oklahoma	852	1,170	+37
Washington	1,152	1,579	+37

Ten worst states

Number employed in thousands*

	1973	1983	% change
Michigan	3,284	3,186	-3
Indiana	2,028	2,007	-1
Ohio	4,113	4,084	-1
Pennsylvania	4,507	4,519	0
Illinois	4,470	4,501	+1
New York	7,132	7,285	+2
W. Virginia	562	581	+3
Iowa	961	1,018	+6
Rhode Island	366	393	+7
Missouri	1,771	1,917	+8

TIME Chart by Renée Klein *nonagricultural



Nancy Coleman and Phyllis Klein on their 1st visit to Bermuda.

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Our starlit values.

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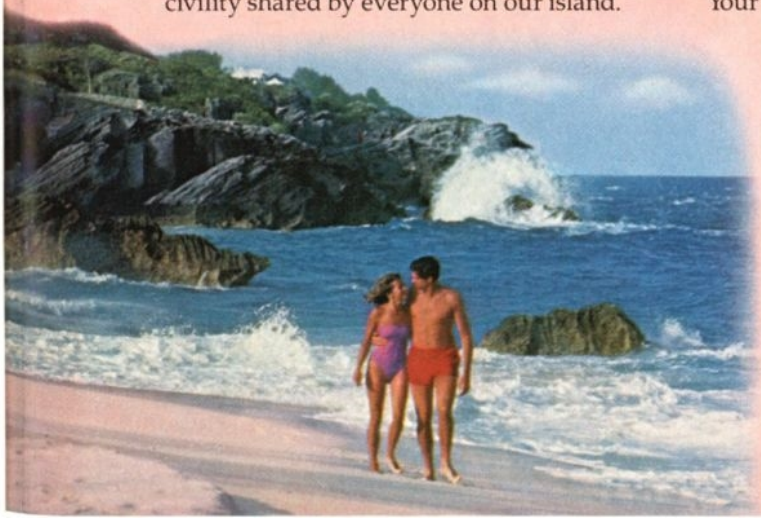

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Laurie and Jim Davis on their 5th visit.

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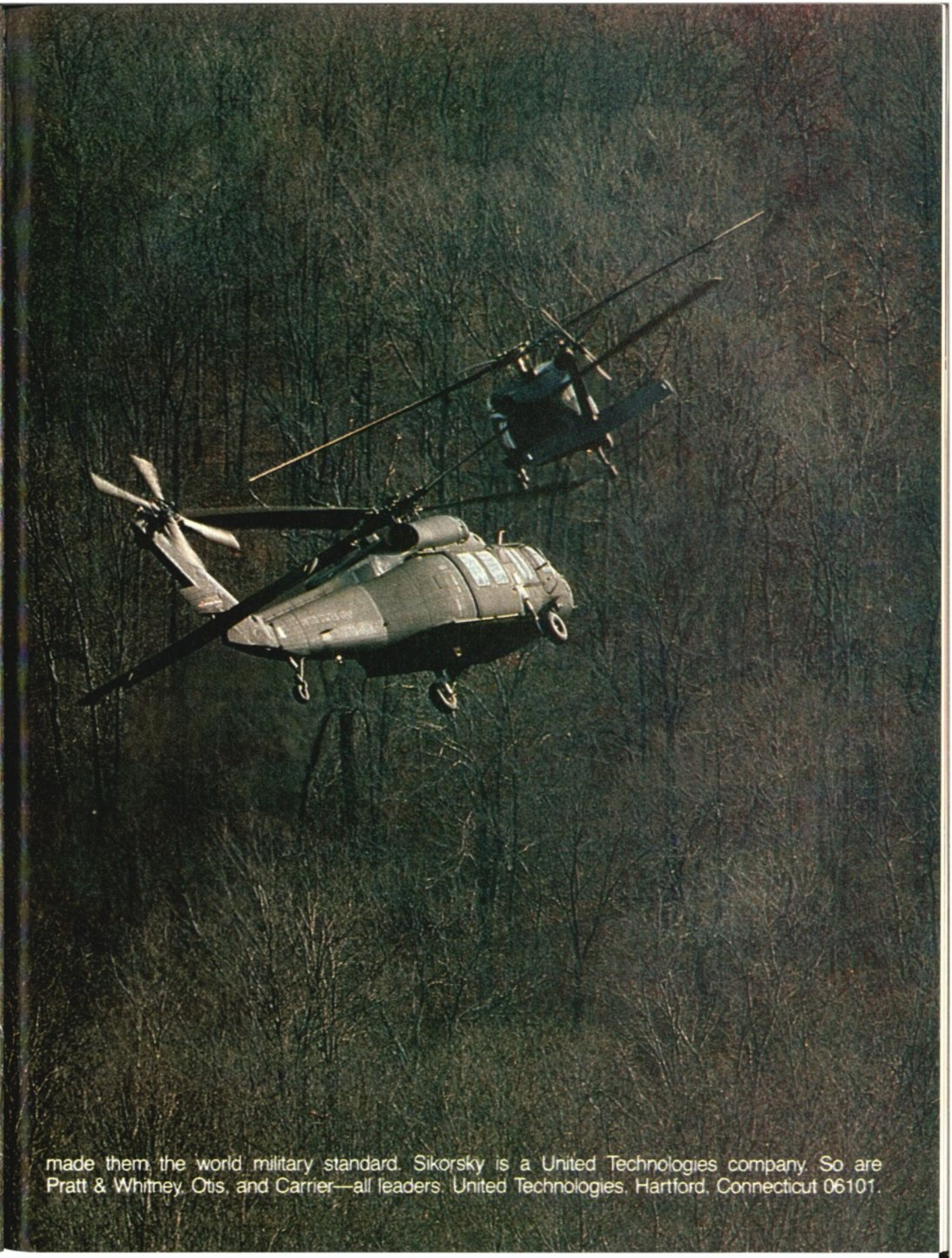

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Talking Tough to the IMF

Argentina tries to dictate the terms for its loans

Cold winter weather settled over Argentina last week, but for President Raúl Alfonsín the heat was on. A team of negotiators from the International Monetary Fund was pressing Alfonsín to curb Argentine wages and government spending as part of an austerity program that would qualify the country for a new $2.1 billion package of loans. At the same time, Argentine labor unions were demanding hefty wage hikes, and about one-fifth of the country's work force was either on strike or threatening to walk off the job.

Seeing no easy way out of his bind, Alfonsín made an unorthodox move. Without reaching an agreement with the IMF negotiators in Buenos Aires, Alfonsín sent his own economic plan to IMF headquarters in Washington in a direct plea to Managing Director Jacques de Larosière and the fund's 22-member executive board. The plan calls for Argentine workers to receive 6% to 8% wage hikes this year on top of whatever increases they need to keep pace with inflation. IMF economists have argued that such a policy could cause Argentina's 568% inflation rate to spiral even higher. But Alfonsín hopes that the IMF board, which is controlled by the governments of the major industrial countries, will be sympathetic to the political plight of Argentina's six-month-old democratic regime.

While Alfonsín haggles with the IMF, a crucial deadline is drawing perilously close. If Argentina does not pay $500 million in interest on its $43.6 billion debt by June 30, U.S. banks will have to subtract the missing payments from second-quarter profits. Faced with a similar dilemma in March, the banks got their money when the U.S. Treasury helped put together a $400 million bailout plan for Argentina. Unless another rescue materializes this time, such banks as Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Citicorp and Chase Manhattan could suffer painful losses.

How painful they would be has been the subject of nervous speculation and dispute. Early last week the First Boston investment-banking firm provided the *Wall Street Journal* with estimates that, at worst, Manufacturers Hanover would lose 60% of its expected second-quarter earnings if Argentina missed its payments, while Chase would suffer a 25% drop and Citicorp a 15% decline. Some of the banks admitted that their profits would dip but said the losses would be modest. Maintained Citicorp Vice President John Maloney: "The First Boston projections are completely off the wall." Nonetheless, jittery investors dumped bank stocks. On the day the First Boston figures came out, the already depressed price of Chase shares fell by 2⅛ points, to 37⅛, and Manufacturers Hanover stock dropped by 1¼, to 25.

A day later First Boston released revised figures for Argentina-related second-quarter profit declines that were not as gloomy: 36% for Manufacturers Hanover, 17% for Chase and 9% for Citicorp. In addition, Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker down-played the June 30 deadline: "I don't think it's terribly significant. What is at issue here is a fairly limited number of interest payments." Chase shares stabilized and finished the week at 37⅛, but Manufacturers Hanover stock slipped another ⅝, to close at 24⅜.

Chances that the IMF will approve the Argentine economic program and authorize new loans before June 30 seem remote. Alfonsín's plan is internally inconsistent and probably unworkable. He promises, for example, to slash his government's budget deficit this year from 16.6% of Argentina's national output to 9.6%. But that feat will be virtually impossible if he raises real wages of government workers by up to 8%.

The IMF is reluctant to give Argentina special concessions because other debtor countries might ask for the same kid-glove treatment. Latin American leaders are already showing signs that they may try to form a united front to demand easier loan terms from their creditors. Representatives from several nations, including Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, are meeting next week in Cartagena, Colombia, for what is being billed as a "debtors' summit."

The impasse between Argentina and the IMF had U.S. policymakers in a quandary last week. As part of the March bailout, the Treasury promised to lend Argentina $300 million, which would be used to repay loans that the country received in the rescue package from Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. The U.S. said, however, that it would not make the loan until Argentina reached an agreement with the IMF, and the American offer was scheduled to expire last Friday. When the deadline came, the Treasury announced that it was withdrawing its loan commitment. That put new financial pressure on Argentina, which may now have to reach into its own pocket to pay back the $300 million to the four other Latin American countries.

In Argentina, businessmen and bankers are generally supporting Alfonsín's exercise in financial brinksmanship. Says Julio Werthein, first vice president of the Banco Mercantil in Buenos Aires: "I think that the government is handling things well. The situation it inherited is not a comfortable one." Some Argentines, though, think that their President is playing a dangerous game. Warns Alvaro Alsogaray, an economist and a member of the Argentine Congress: "If the government decides to confront the entire international financial world, it will be like kicking the chessboard and making a grand nationalistic gesture." A few Argentines even compare the face-off with the IMF to their confrontation with the British over the Falkland Islands.

In Washington, financial officials think that Alfonsín will have to retreat from his hard line and compromise with the IMF. But at a press conference last week, he sounded unshakable. "We believe," Alfonsín declared, "that the possibility of negotiation with the IMF is not closed. What is closed is the possibility that Argentina will change its mind." Alfonsín and the world's bankers are eye to eye, and someone will have to blink before June 30. ***—By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Gavin Scott/Buenos Aires***

CARLOS CARRION—SYGMA

Sounding unshakable, Alfonsín declares that his country will not "change its mind"

The President and the bankers are eye to eye, and someone will have to blink by June 30.

Greenmailing Mickey Mouse

Disney buys out a threatening investor for $325 million

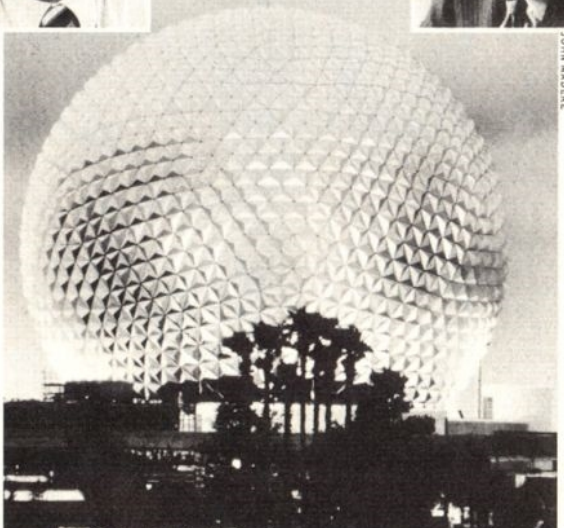
"It's like watching your mother getting ravaged by New York thugs," said Greg Kieselmann, co-manager of institutional research at Morgan, Olmstead, Kennedy & Gardner, a Los Angeles brokerage firm. That rather vivid imagery was typical of the investment world's reaction last week after Financier Saul P. Steinberg zapped Walt Disney Productions with a market ploy that made him $32 million richer but may have left Disney much weaker. Steinberg, 44, had just pulled off the latest example of a spreading tactic called greenmail, Wall Street's version of blackmail.

In a greenmail deal, an investor buys up enough of a company's stock to pose either a takeover challenge or the threat of a proxy fight. Worried because they may lose their jobs, the top men too often capitulate and offer to buy back the greenmailer's stock at a premium price in exchange for a promise that the raider will not go after them again, at least in the near future. In cases just this year, Texaco bought back 9.8% of its shares for $1.28 billion from the Bass family, Warner Communications paid Rupert Murdoch $180.6 million for his 7% interest in the firm, St. Regis purchased for $160 million the 8.6% of its firm held by Sir James Goldsmith, and Quaker State Oil Refining gave Steinberg $47 million for his 8.9% of the company.

Steinberg became attracted to Disney early this year because of its great cash potential and low stock price, and on March 12 he began buying Disney stock at $50 a share. In late April he notified the Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Department that he intended to acquire as much as 25% of Disney's shares. A week later, Steinberg owned 12.2% of all Disney shares.

Disney Chairman Raymond Watson, 57, and President Ronald Miller, 51, then established their first line of defense. The strategy was to buy up other companies in order to diminish Steinberg's share of Disney. On May 17, Disney agreed to buy Arvida, a Florida-based land-development firm, in exchange for 3.3 million shares, nearly 10%, of its stock. Steinberg sued to stop the deal, but a U.S. district court in Los Angeles ruled in favor of Disney. Then Disney announced plans to buy Gibson Greetings, a Cincinnati-based producer of cards and wrapping paper, for up to 6.2 million shares of Disney stock.

These moves threatened to decrease Steinberg's share of Disney to less than 10%, and he appeared to be losing. But two weeks ago, Steinberg formed a holding company, MM Acquisition (named for Disney's own Mickey Mouse). For his partners Steinberg enlisted Kirk Kerkorian, 67, the majority stockholder in MGM/UA Entertainment, and Fisher Financial and Development, a New York City real estate firm. Kerkorian agreed to invest $75 million for a 20% stake in the new firm in return for a 60-day option to buy the Disney studio and film library for $448 million. Fisher put in the same amount in return for exclusive rights to acquire undeveloped land near Walt Disney World and Epcot Center in Florida and Disneyland in California. MM Acquisition then offered to buy 37.9% of Disney for $67.50 a share, in a deal valued at $970 million. That was a third more than what Disney stock sold for only a few months ago, and the offer seemed likely to succeed.



JOHN MADERE

Epcot Center was one of the prizes for Miller, left, and Steinberg

A scorched-earth policy that saves management, not investors.

During a series of weekend meetings in New York City, however, a greenmail deal was struck: Disney agreed to repurchase Steinberg's 4,198,333 shares for $70.83 a share, or $297.4 million, a profit of $32 million for Steinberg. In addition, Disney paid him $28 million for expenses involved in his takeover attempt. Steinberg, in turn, agreed not to acquire any Disney shares for ten years.

Immediate howls of protest arose from Disney investors, who were not getting Steinberg's sweetheart deal. In fact, after the agreement was announced, Disney stock slumped sharply and finished the week at $49.50, a drop of nearly $16 in five trading days. Institutional investors roundly condemned the Disney accord, although small investors holding Disney shares mainly suffered in silence. New York City's Alliance Capital Management lost $1.5 million on its 100,000 shares of Disney. Said Chairman Dave Williams: "We feel like we've had the rug pulled out from under us." Three Disney shareholders filed suit in superior court in Los Angeles asking that Disney's purchase of Steinberg's shares be rescinded and that Disney pay a dividend to all shareholders.

While Miller and other Disney executives have survived for now, their company emerges from its battle with Steinberg in a much weakened position. Arvida and Gibson are not natural business partners for Disney, yet they have more than doubled Disney's debt load, to $850 million.

The tactics used by Disney and other greenmail targets came under very strong criticism last week. Said Jay Marshall of Merrill Lynch: "Clearly, in many cases, the executives are just messing up the company. Management's feeling is: cripple us, poke out our eyes and maybe they won't like us any more." That kind of scorched-earth policy may save the jobs of top management, but it does not help investors, who see the greenmailer make a huge profit while their shares decline in value. Said T. Boone Pickens, a frequent opponent of entrenched corporate officials and a sometime greenmailer: "Management at Disney is not too different from a lot of other managements across corporate America. The last thing they think of is their own shareholders."

The greenmailing of Walt Disney was successful, but it may change the whole greenmail game. The New York Stock Exchange and the Los Angeles office of the Securities and Exchange Commission are looking into possible insider trading of Disney stock. The SEC had already proposed legislation that would require stockholder approval of stock buy-back plans, and the Disney debacle is sure to win it support. Moreover, Democratic Congressman Timothy Wirth of Colorado has conducted hearings that may lead to a legislative crackdown on questionable takeover tactics. —***By Robert T. Grieves. Reported by B. Russell Leavitt/Los Angeles and Adam Zagorin/New York***

Business Notes

FOREIGN TRADE

Alloyed Protectionism

CHRISTOPHER HARRIS

Unloading foreign steel in New Orleans

The ailing copper and steel industries have long complained that their problems are mainly the result of overseas competition. Last week both industries received some support. In separate decisions, the International Trade Commission, an independent federal agency, ruled that both copper and steel have been seriously injured by low-cost foreign shipments.

Steel manufacturers want to limit imports to no more than 15% of the American market, about 60% of the current level. Copper companies are urging the Government to restrict imports for five years to a level equal to about two-thirds of last year's shipments.

The ITC decisions gave an unfortunate boost to protectionism and put President Reagan in an election-year bind. Sweeping restrictions would be against his own free-market principles, but a vote against steel and copper quotas could hurt at the polls. New import quotas could also cause problems abroad. Chile and Canada, the two largest U.S. suppliers of copper, lobbied strongly against cutbacks. Steel producers like Mexico and Brazil have already announced voluntary restraints on their exports to the U.S., and further reductions would aggravate their debt woes.

The President has little room to waffle. According to law, the ITC must make its recommendations by late July, and the President must decide whether to approve, reject or modify its proposals by the end of September.

AIRLINES

Flying the Cut-Rate Skies

For the past two years, airlines have been avoiding the price wars that helped send Braniff into bankruptcy and several other carriers to the brink. But last week new skirmishes broke out. Regular coach fares between the East and West Coasts have been averaging $367 each way on United, American and Trans World Airlines. People Express, the three-year-old upstart discounter, set off the latest round of cuts by having a limited number of Boeing 747 flights between Newark and Los Angeles for $149 during the day and $119 at night. Said Larry Martin, a general manager at People: "We don't come in to start price wars. We simply come in at our price."

United and World Airways matched People's fares. American will follow on its New York–Los Angeles flights this week but with some restrictions. Last week TWA announced that it was lowering fares by as much as $80 on flights from New York to Los Angeles. The new fares could diminish the profits airlines had hoped to make on heavy business for the Summer Olympic Games.

BANKS

Continental Waits at the Altar

Soon after Chicago's Continental Illinois Bank came close to collapsing last month, Wall Street matchmakers went to work trying to find it a strong partner. But after taking a close look at Continental's books, the potential suitors have been shying away. New York's Chemical Bank and First National Bank of Chicago both said last week that they were no longer interested in acquiring Continental. Uncertainty about the bank's future, said Continental Chairman David Taylor, has left "our employees hanging by their thumbs."

Chicago was abuzz, though, with speculation that a deal was in the works. In a front-page story, the Chicago *Tribune* claimed that Robert Abboud, president of Occidental Petroleum, and Drexel Burnham Lambert, a New York City investment banking firm, were putting together a group of investors to rescue Continental with a $2 billion infusion of capital. The story seemed plausible because Abboud was once chairman of First Chicago, Continental's crosstown competitor. He was abruptly fired in 1980, after his bank suffered an earnings slump.

MARC POKEMPNER

Chairman David Taylor

Abboud admitted last week that he had advised Drexel Burnham Lambert on a possible investment in Continental but contended that he was not financially involved in the deal. Nonetheless, people who know the pugnacious Abboud say that he would love to get back into the big-money whirl of Chicago banking, especially if he could compete head on with the bank that sent him into corporate exile.

TAXES

Indiana Makes a Deal with Sony

Few things rile international businessmen more than the unitary tax, an accounting formula used in twelve American states, that considers a multinational corporation's worldwide operations when figuring its tax, rather than just its local ones. Last week a group of Japanese businessmen, headed by Sony Chairman Akio Morita, met with President Reagan to protest the unitary tax, which it considers arbitrary and unfair.

Morita has already found a way to blunt the issue. He told the state of Indiana that he would build a $20 million videodisc manufacturing plant if it would promise to repeal its unitary tax. Though the legislature had adjourned for the year, leaders signed a document in favor of Morita's proposal. The new plant is expected to provide up to 150 jobs in depressed Terre Haute, where the unemployment rate is 11.9%. Says Terre Haute Mayor Pete Chalos: "It was a matter of deciding that we wanted Indiana to be a place where we would see more investment." Indiana's action will help the antitax campaign in other states.

OWEN FRANKEN—SYGMA

Sony Chairman Morita

HOUSING

Building with Sweat Equity

With an annual income of just $24,336, Armand Quiros, 58, and his wife Lois of Santa Barbara, Calif., had given up hope of ever owning a home in their neighborhood, where the average price is $191,768. But last week they broke ground on a new two-bedroom duplex, thanks to Homes for People, a private nonprofit agency that locates low-interest loans and inexpensive materials for people willing to contribute labor to the construction of their houses. The Quiros family will put in 16 hours a week: he doing carpentry and general cleanup, she as a volunteer worker in the Homes for People office. The Owner-Builder Center in Berkeley, which has trained 8,000 people as builders and contractors, claims that a do-it-yourselfer can save up to 60% of construction costs.

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People

ANWAR HUSSEIN

SOLA—GAMMA/LIAISON

The little princes: William with parents at Kensington Palace; Andréa-Albert with parents and Grandpa debuting in Monaco

When it comes to family albums, nobody fills them fuller than royalty. Last week it was time to paste in two more snapshots as aristocratic couples toted their tots before the cameras in a regal display of parental pride. The newest face belonged to three-day-old **Andréa-Albert Casiraghi,** who left the hospital in the arms of his mother **Princess Caroline** of Monaco while her husband **Stefano Casiraghi,** 23, and her father **Prince Rainier,** 61, looked on. Caroline, 27, who has given up drinking and smoking in order to breast-feed, said she was "not the least tired" after giving birth to the 6-lb. 6-oz. boy, calling the experience "the most beautiful day of my life." Meanwhile, over at Kensington Palace in London, **Prince William,** who went through all that two years ago this week, took a pre-birthday turn for reporters. He displayed his mastery of "Daddy," "ball," "ant" and "tractor." Headlined the *Sun:* WILLIE GOES TALKIES. While **Prince Charles,** 35, and **Diana,** 22, looked on, the youngster toddled over to examine a newsman's camera. Pointing at a microphone, he asked, "What's that?" (Willie goes sentences!) Explained his father: "It's a big sausage that picks up everything you say—and you are starting early." When William attempted to see behind the media throng, Charles instructed, "You are meant to stay on this side." Praise be, there are still some class distinctions.

■

As "Olympic Gateway" was unveiled at ceremonies outside the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, a gasp went up from the crowd of spectators. The onlookers' response was as much a reaction to the size as to the subject of **Robert Graham's** 25-ft.-high, 10-ton, $250,000 sculpture. The two towering figures were nude and, in the current phrase, anatomically correct (if that term applies to bodies that have no heads or feet). Two real Olympic athletes posed for the statues. Their torsos will now be well and fully known to those who pass under the arch on their way to the Games, but their names have been discreetly withheld.

■

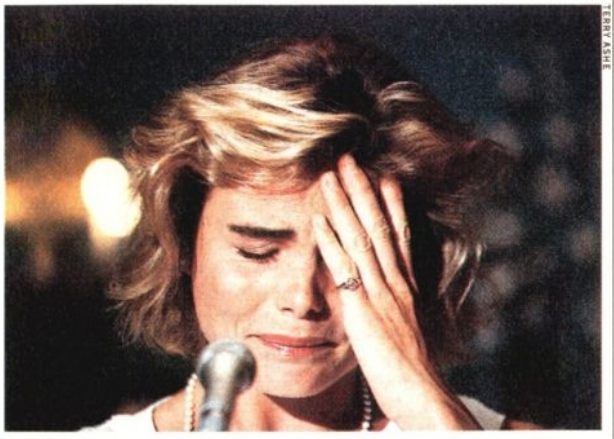
The tears that streaked down her face were not in the script, but **Mariel Hemingway's** testimony at a hearing before the U.S. House of Representatives was as moving as any Hollywood drama. The granddaughter of **Ernest Hemingway,** who owns a cabin near her home town of Ketchum, Idaho, spoke against a bill that would preserve only 526,000 of Idaho's 8 million acres of wilderness. Hemingway, 22, at first read calmly from her prepared statement, but broke down when she got to a quotation from a monument to her grandfather. As she had said earlier, "My testimony is from the heart."

Since **John Williams,** 52, took over from Arthur Fiedler as conductor of the Boston Pops four years ago, the number of oldsters in the audience has diminished and the youngsters increased, but one thing has not changed: the irreverent Pops musicians whoop derisively at the more cornball program choices and read and talk through rehearsals. Last week, after one of his own works was greeted by surreptitious hisses at a run-through, Williams finally decided that enough was enough. The conductor-composer, whose most recent score was for *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom,* will turn in his Pops baton at the end of the summer concert series. Applicants for the podium may want to bring along Indiana's bullwhip.

—By Guy D. Garcia

BEN MARTIN

First unveiling, then gasping


TERRY ASHE

Tearful testimony: Hemingway during congressional hearings

Laker Talent, Celtic Team

Making space in the Boston rafters for a 15th flag

If it seems in the proper order of things that the Boston Celtics are champions and the Los Angeles Lakers runners-up, a feeling yet persists that the Lakers are the better basketball players, while the Celtics' virtues extend beyond the sport's linear boundaries, just out of Magic Johnson's range at 24, no longer within Kareem Abdul-Jabbar's reach at 37.

Jabbar is a beautiful player. Too quick and agile to be so tall and angular, he seemed to have been designed originally as a natural monument to defiance, constructed out of high-tension wires, never to be touched. But his mettle must have softened over 15 seasons, or maybe some of the temper has just gone out of him. While Kareem still shoots and passes with grace and guile, he does not get his share of rebounds any more. On the worst basketball teams, the center is expected to do everything. On the best ones, he is required to rebound. If the Laker center was not surrounded by so many willowy teammates, it would not seem to matter so much, and when they are all tearing up and down the court, it hardly appears to matter at all. This was the situation for most of the first four games of the seven-game series, when overtime victories squeezed out by Boston in Games 2 and 4 offset but scarcely equaled the spectacle of Los Angeles on the dead run.

ANDY BERNSTEIN

Bird flies the ball to the net

Momentarily, 6-ft. 9-in. Laker James Worthy seemed about to redefine the forward position with his quickness, just as Magic Johnson, roughly the same size, has revolutionized guard play with his height. But the last few regulation seconds in Game 2 were unpromising for both men. Protecting a two-point lead but not the ball, Worthy tossed the tying basket directly into Celtic Guard Gerald Henderson's grateful path, and dribbling absently Johnson lost track of the time. As would become increasingly clear, the new model is an improvement over Oscar Robertson only in the open court.

BERNSTEIN

Auerbach hefts the trophy for Maxwell and Mayor Ray Flynn

After the four games, all of which they should have lost, Boston's players brought out an old Celtic device as smelly as Red Auerbach's cigar and Boston Garden. They locked themselves in their room, damned the league, condemned the media, agreed that the commissioner, the referees and everyone else in the world were against them, and swore to get even with the lot. Topping off his farewell performance as general manager, Auerbach, 66, even rumbled about the abuse his team was taking on CBS, which was slightly preposterous, since TV Color Man Tommy Heinsohn participated in ten Celtic titles as player and coach.

Much was made of Celtic Whooping Crane Kevin McHale's impersonal garroting of horn-rimmed Laker Kurt Rambis in Game 4. But there was a more telling development during that game, when Boston Guards Henderson and Dennis Johnson decided themselves to swap defensive assignments, and the latter efficiently took custody of Magic Johnson. The fact that K.C. Jones was open to the idea describes the Celtics' first-year coach, a humble former backcourtman who minimizes his part in eight Celtic championships by saying, "My fingerprints are all over the coattails of Bill Russell."

In their steamy North Station gym, where eleven of Russell's championship banners drooped beside three others on a 97° night, the Celtics ran several Lakers and a referee to near exhaustion to win the fifth game going away and take an improbable lead. Larry Bird, the one with the coattails now, strangely found it cooler to run down the floor than to sit and be fanned by preposterous Cornerman M.L. Carr's flapping towels. Bird scored 34 points and gathered 17 rebounds.

Though they man different posts, direct comparisons between Magic and Bird have been unavoidable since Michigan State and Johnson beat Indiana State and Bird in the National Collegiate Athletic Association finals of 1979. Johnson is more dazzling, but Bird is more amazing. He can neither run nor jump with the best athletes in the game, but he senses where to run and when to jump before any of the rest. In no other way does he seem sophisticated, but his basketball instincts are what lift the Boston team above its talent. When Bird seemed left out of the offense in Game 6 at Los Angeles, the Lakers pulled even with one game to go in the longest season.

Often when the most is promised, the least is delivered, but New England was satisfied last week with an unexceptional 111-102 final victory. Bird was named the Most Valuable Player. No city cheers a white star more enthusiastically than Boston. Climbing a mountain the last quarter, Los Angeles approached within three points at 105-102 and had the ball. But then Magic mishandled it twice. In the back of his mind, Johnson said, he was trying to atone for his transgressions. Friends Isiah Thomas of Detroit and Mark Aguirre of Dallas stayed up with him afterward and talked through the night.

Celtic Center Robert Parish had 16 rebounds to Jabbar's six in the last game, Boston 52 to the Lakers 33. Forward Cedric Maxwell, with a flair for rising up at great occasions, scored 14 points at the foul line alone. This championship seemed to prompt a broader interest than usual, and the seventh game drew the largest TV audience in pro basketball history. When the live and ravenous crowd broke through and overran the court, Jabbar was stripped of his goggles, though not of his clear view. "It got away from us," he said simply. "I don't think it matters too much now who has the most talent. They had the best team." —*By Tom Callahan*

The Toughest Test for Athletes

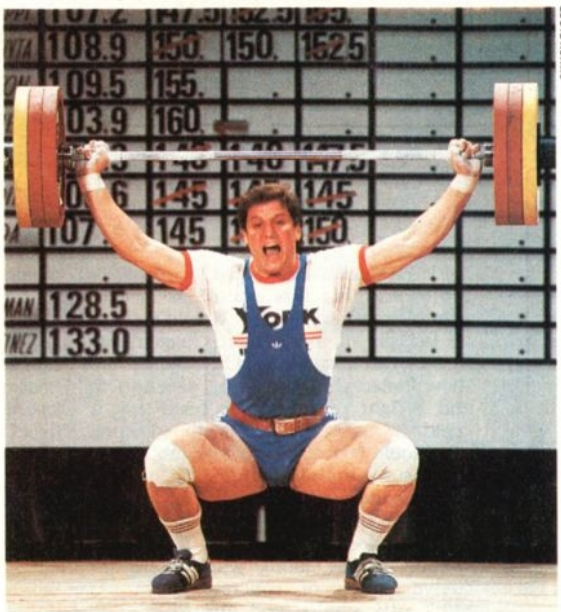
Olympic officials are vowing to catch steroid users

Lunging across the finish line or regaining balance after a hammer throw, an athlete competing in this summer's Los Angeles Olympic Games will usually know quickly if he has won a medal. What he may not know for a while is whether he can keep it. The reason: Olympic officials will be on the lookout for more than 300 drugs that athletes are forbidden to use. And, in what is the toughest action to date against drug users by any athletic body, the International Olympic Committee has instituted a testing system that seems almost certain to catch anyone who aims at getting a medal with the aid of a pill or a needle. Among the targets of the tests: amphetamines and, possibly the most dangerous drugs ever taken by athletes, anabolic steroids.

The new doping procedures are even more rigorous than the strict routine followed at last year's Pan American Games in Venezuela. Those resulted in the expulsion from the competition of eleven world-class weight lifters who were found to have detectable levels of steroids. One of them, American Jeff Michels, 22, subsequently appealed the decision and will be allowed to take part in the Olympic Games. Under the I.O.C.'s new testing system, a representative of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee will contact all three medal winners, as well as a fourth competitor selected at random, immediately after each event is completed. The escort will take the athletes to a doping control station, where two samples of urine will be taken from each person: one will be stored under strict security and the other will be analyzed in a $1.5 million laboratory operated for the I.O.C. by Don H. Catlin, chief of the University of California, Los Angeles, Medical School Division of Clinical Pharmacology.

If a test turns out to be positive, indicating drug use, the laboratory will notify the I.O.C.'s medical commission, which will tell the athlete and his team officials. A second analysis will then be carried out in the presence of observers from the I.O.C. and the athlete's team. If this is also positive, the athlete will be stripped of his medal. "If someone is using the banned drugs," says Catlin, "we'll find him."

The Olympic Committee added anabolic steroids to its list of banned substances in 1973. Since then, the drugs have become ever more widely used as men and women seek to push their bodies to still higher levels of attainment. In the U.S., where synthetic steroids were developed about half a century ago, their use is thought to extend from world-class athletes to high school football players. Soviet and East European trainers are widely believed to have been giving the drugs to their athletes since the 1950s. Nor will it be possible for athletes to escape detection simply by stopping use of steroids immediately before the Los Angeles Games: their presence in the body can be detected as much as six months after the drugs have been taken. Indeed, some doctors suspect that fear of detection may have contributed to the Soviet decision to boycott the Los Angeles Games.



EDDIE ADAMS

Weight Lifter Jeff Michels: caught by drug testers

Being a steroid user may cost an athlete far more than his or her Olympic medal: a growing body of medical evidence indicates that athletes who take steroids have experienced problems ranging from sterility to loss of libido, and the drug has been implicated in the deaths of young athletes from liver cancer and a type of kidney tumor. Steroid use has also been linked to heart disease. "Athletes who take steroids are playing with dynamite," says Robert Goldman, 29, a former wrestler and weight lifter who is now a research fellow in sports medicine at Chicago Osteopathic Medical Center and who has just published a book on steroid abuse, *Death in the Locker Room* (Icarus; $19.95). "Any jock who uses these drugs is taking chances not just with his health but with his life."

Anabolic steroids are essentially the male hormone testosterone and its synthetic derivatives. They were developed to alleviate strictly medical problems: correcting delayed puberty and preventing the withering of muscle tissue in people undergoing prolonged recovery from surgery, starvation or other traumas. Curiously, U.S. athletes were indirectly introduced to the drugs by Soviet athletes. In 1956 the late Dr. John Ziegler attended a world weight-lifting championship in Vienna and was told that the drugs were greatly improving the performance of the lifters from the Soviet Union. Ziegler, believing that U.S. athletes could also be helped by the drugs, worked with CIBA Pharmaceutical Co. to develop a steroid drug called Dianabol for use by athletes. He quickly abandoned his research, however, when he saw that the drug was being abused. CIBA ceased production of Dianabol for the same reason, although the company continues to make these steroids for medical use. These drugs, doctors say, are being brought into the U.S. illegally from Europe and Mexico and are being used by athletes without a doctor's prescription. Said a disillusioned Ziegler, shortly before he died last year: "I wish I had never heard the word steroid."

The great majority of physicians say the drugs upset the body's natural hormonal balance, particularly that involving testosterone, which is present, though in different amounts, in both men and women. Normally, the hypothalamus, the part of the brain that regulates many of the body's functions, "tastes" the testosterone levels; if it finds them too low, it signals the pituitary gland to trigger increased production. When the hypothalamus finds the testosterone levels too high, as it does in the case of steroid abusers, it signals the pituitary to stop production. Problems can also arise in some cases after athletes stop taking the drugs and the hypothalamus fails to get the system started again.

The results can be traumatic. Many men experience atrophy, or shrinking, of the testicles, falling sperm counts, temporary infertility and a lessening of sexual desire; some men grow breasts, while others may develop enlargement of the prostate gland, a painful condition not usually found in men under 50. Women who take too many steroids can develop male sexual characteristics. Some grow hair on their chests and faces and lose hair from their heads; many experience abnormal

enlargement of the clitoris. Some cease to ovulate and menstruate, sometimes permanently.

There are several other health risks. Steroids can cause the body to retain fluid, which results in rising blood pressure. This often tempts users to fight "steroid bloat" by taking large doses of diuretics. A postmortem on a young California weight lifter who had a fatal heart attack after using steroids within the past year showed that by taking diuretics he had purged himself of electrolytes, chemicals that help regulate the heart. Convincing athletes of the dangers of steroids is far from easy. Earlier this year, Author Goldman asked this hypothetical question of 198 world-class athletes: would they take a pill that would guarantee them a gold medal even if they knew that it would kill them in five years? One hundred and three said that they would. *—By Peter Stoler*

Relieving Herpes

A new pill can thwart attacks

For the one out of ten Americans afflicted with genital herpes, the worst aspect of the sexually transmitted infection is that the symptoms keep coming back. "Herpes is forever," as one wag put it. The average sufferer endures five to eight bouts a year of painful, itchy blisters; many have outbreaks every month. Now, for the first time, there is hope for those so afflicted. According to two studies reported in the latest issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, daily doses of a new, capsule form of the drug acyclovir can prevent recurrences in many patients. The drug, marketed by Burroughs Wellcome Co., under the brand name Zovirax, has been available in ointment form since 1982. "This is not a cure," emphasizes Virologist Stephen Straus, of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, who directed one of the studies. But, he notes, "nothing in the past has been able to suppress recurring herpes."

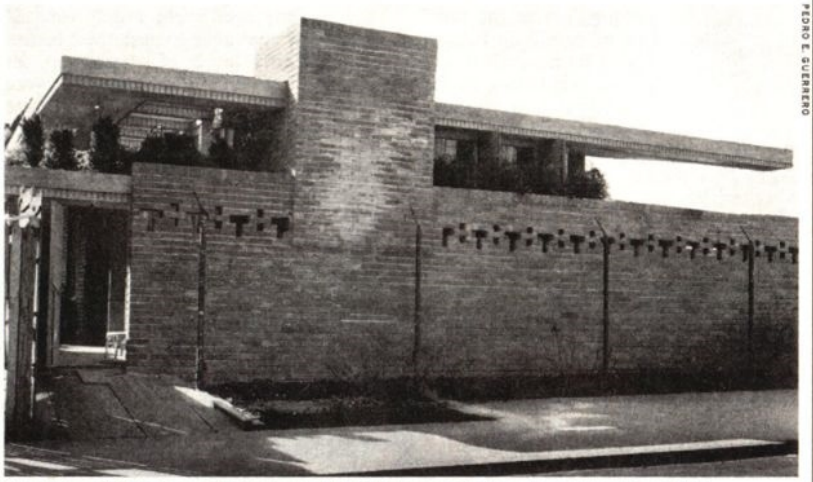
In Straus' study, oral acyclovir prevented herpes outbreaks in twelve out of 16 patients who took the drug three times a day for four months. All 16 herpes sufferers in a control group had outbreaks during the period. In the second study, conducted at the University of Washington in Seattle, 68% of 96 patients taking acyclovir during a four-month test period remained symptom free, while 94% of those taking placebos developed blisters. In both studies, patients suffered flare-ups after they stopped taking the drug.

While subjects in the studies complained of few side effects beyond an occasional upset stomach, the long-term risks of taking acyclovir are unknown. The drug works by interfering with the virus' reproductive process. When used as an ointment, however, it merely relieves the discomfort of an initial attack. The FDA is expected to approve the more potent oral form within a few months. ■

Design

The Wright Inspiration

A pizza king who owns the Detroit Tigers plans a museum



PEDRO E. GUERRERO

Frank Lloyd Wright's exhibition house in 1953: geared to hearth-centered family life

It took 31 years, but Frank Lloyd Wright's wish has finally come true. In 1953 the master designed a small, practical house that was erected as part of a huge retrospective of Wright's work on the site of the present Guggenheim Museum in New York City. When the show ended the house was dismantled, and Wright expressed the hope that it could be sold at auction to someone who would "permanently re-establish" it.

Last week, it was. Having lain in storage for years, original cabinet fronts, light fixtures, door frames and window sashes, along with twelve pieces of concrete block, 3½ chairs and the plans, were offered in a benefit auction for Channel 13, New York City's public television station. The buyer: Tom Monaghan, 47, ebullient owner of the Detroit Tigers, head of the 1,450-store Domino's Pizza empire and, by his own account, the world's leading Frank Lloyd Wright fanatic since he was twelve years old. He beat out prospective purchasers from across the U.S. and the Philippines with a bid of $117,500.

JUDE RUG CLARK

Purchaser Monaghan

Monaghan intends to rebuild the house as part of a Frank Lloyd Wright museum at Domino's Pizza new world headquarters on 300 semirural acres near Ann Arbor, Mich. He will be assisted by Architect-Builder David Henken, 68, a former Wright student who was in charge of putting up the house originally. Henken saved the fragments when earlier efforts to sell the house failed. He estimates that the reconstruction will cost $250,000.

Wright's house anticipated the contemporary search for an affordable, compact home design that fits today's lifestyle of working parents and kitchen entertaining. Wright claimed to have designed more than a hundred of these houses, to which he applied Samuel Butler's term Usonian (derived from the initials U.S.). Their architecture was intended to embody the spirit of democracy as Wright saw it, a spirit of close-to-nature individualism and hearth-centered family life. The exterior of the two-bedroom house shows mostly an unassuming brick wall. It has no attic, porch or basement, and its core consists of a single spacious, harmonious unit of living room, dining room and kitchen, focused on the fireplace.

Attractively displayed, the structure could be an important inspiration to America's approach to housing, the Wright inspiration. One of Monaghan's other planned structures at Ann Arbor sounds less salutary. He intends to put up Wright's "Golden Beacon," a 56-story skyscraper that was designed in 1956 for the Chicago lakefront but never built. Its design is to be adapted to accommodate Domino's office needs, a move that may result not only in an anachronism but a stylistic pastiche. "I don't want to turn the place into a Disneyland," Monaghan insists. "I just want to pay tribute to the greatest master of the arts that ever lived, of all time." *—By Wolf Von Eckardt. Reported by William Tynan/New York*

Much Ado About a Shift to the Right

The court favors seniority over minority, police over defendants

For years, liberals and conservatives alike have wondered when the Nixon-Ford-Reagan majority on the U.S. Supreme Court would show its true colors and break with the bold precedents of the tribunal overseen by Earl Warren. For a few days last week it seemed that the time had finally arrived. Prosecutors and police were delighted when the court set new limits on two of the Warren Court's best-known criminal-law doctrines. And Reagan Administration officials could hardly contain their glee after the court ordered a cutback in the scope of some affirmative-action remedies. "It's a slam dunk," exulted Solicitor General Rex Lee, who had urged the court to reach that result. Civil rights leaders lamented that affirmative action had been set back 20 years.

But most legal scholars who studied those decisions could not understand what much of the hubbub was about. They pointed out that the three rulings were very narrowly defined and were likely to have only a limited impact on both criminal procedure and civil rights. In the affirmative-action case, the Justices favored seniority systems over minority claims, ruling that courts generally cannot order the layoff or demotion of white workers to preserve jobs for less senior blacks. In the two criminal cases decided, the court held that police need not always read an arrested suspect his Miranda rights immediately if the public safety is threatened, and that illegally seized evidence can be introduced at trial if its eventual discovery through other, legal means was "inevitable." While these decisions indicate that the court is on a conservative tack, concluded Vanderbilt University Law Professor Thomas McCoy, they "are not major, earth-shattering departures from fundamental principles."

The source of greatest comment—and confusion—was the Justices' 6-to-3 finding that a lower federal court had no right to force the layoff or demotion of senior white fire fighters in Memphis in order to protect black hiring and promotion gains made under a court-approved affirmative-action plan. That 1980 plan required that at least 50% of all new employees be black until two-fifths of the department was black. Responding to long-term pressure that prompted the plan, Memphis had increased the proportion of black firemen from 4% in 1974 to 11½% in 1980.

Then came a 1981 budget crunch. The city announced that it would follow the seniority system negotiated with the union and start laying off those who had been most recently hired, including many of the new black fire fighters. But a federal district court ruled that the city could do nothing that would reduce the proportion of blacks in the department. As a result, three whites lost their jobs to blacks with less seniority. Although the layoffs lasted only a month, the city of Memphis and the union pressed their suit against this violation of the seniority plan to the Supreme Court. Writing for the court, Justice Byron White found that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 "protects bona fide seniority systems" unless the plans are intentionally discriminatory or black workers can show that they were individually the victims of hiring discrimination.

PAUL DAGS

Stotts with picture of fellow black fire fighters

Reagan Administration officials and many civil rights leaders swiftly read White's opinion as invalidating all affirmative-action plans that involve employment quotas. There are hundreds of such plans, both voluntary and court-ordered, in force in businesses and public agencies across the nation. Justice Department Civil Rights Chief William Bradford Reynolds held a news conference to announce that in light of this "exhilarating" decision, his office would carefully review all affirmative-action employment plans in which the Justice Department had played a part. Civil rights leaders went into a display of public mourning. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis branch of the N.A.A.C.P., said the day of the court decision was "one of the most depressing" of her life. District Fire Chief Carl Stotts, who brought the original suit, declared that "affirmative action has been thrown right out the window." He was joined in this assessment by many civil rights activists.

But constitutional scholars said that both the jubilation and despair were exaggerated. Duke University Law Professor William Van Alstyne argued that it was "quite a narrow decision" that applies only to situations in which legitimate seniority systems are in place. Other experts agree with Van Alstyne that affirmative-action quotas and goals would still be legal as long as they do not result in the displacement or demotion of white workers.

There was less uncertainty about the meaning of the criminal-law rulings but no less controversy about the direction of the court. The first of the two decisions last week replayed a classic case in legal annals. In 1969 Robert Williams was convicted of murdering Pamela Powers, 10, in Iowa. That conviction was appealed to the Supreme Court and was thrown out in 1977 because of a famous illegal police interrogation—the "Christian burial" ploy. While detectives were transporting Williams across the state, and before the corpse had been discovered, one officer pleaded with him, saying that the parents "should be entitled to a Christian burial for the little girl." Moved, Williams led them to the body. Since police had promised his lawyer they would not interrogate him, the court threw out his statements. Williams was convicted at a second trial, in which evidence about Pamela's body was admitted but not Williams' involvement in the discovery.

In a 7-to-2 ruling, the court okayed that second conviction. Chief Justice Warren Burger noted that 200 volunteers were searching for the child's body at the time Williams led police to it, and that it would have been "inevitably discovered" by lawful means without his help. That being so, wrote Burger, it "would reject logic, experience and common sense" to apply the exclusionary rule and bar the evidence. This "inevitable discovery" doctrine had been previously adopted by almost all other courts, so it was no surprise to scholars that the Supreme Court also approved it.

Last week's second criminal decision involved a New York City woman who told police that she had been raped by an armed attacker who fled into a nearby supermarket. The officers quickly found and subdued the man. After handcuffing Benjamin Quarles, one of the police noticed an empty shoulder holster and

asked, "Where is the gun?" Quarles nodded toward a stack of cardboard cartons and said, "The gun is over there." Later he sought to exclude the use of his statement and the gun as evidence, arguing that he had not been warned of his right to remain silent and his right to counsel before leading police to the weapon.

By a 5-to-4 vote the Supreme Court turned Quarles down. Because of the dangers of the hidden gun, declared Justice William Rehnquist, "overriding considerations of public safety justify the officer's failure to provide Miranda warnings before he asked questions devoted to locating the abandoned weapon." The dissenters included Sandra Day O'Connor, in a rare split with her fellow Arizonan. The new public-safety exception, she complained, "blurs the edges" of what had been a clear rule.

These new modifications of two major Warren Court rules raised civil libertarian hackles not so much for their specific effect as for a decision they may presage: the possible approval, by the end of this court term, of a "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule. Such a decision would allow illegally obtained evidence to be introduced at a trial if police seizing the material had reason to believe they were acting within the law. It would complement a series of pro–death penalty cases, approval of preventive detention for accused juvenile offenders, and two major decisions expanding the right of law-enforcement officials to search for contraband and illegal aliens.

Williams

To some experts, the criminal-law decisions, together with the Memphis civil rights case, a decision allowing public sponsorship of Nativity scenes, and a ruling allowing bankrupt companies to cancel their labor contracts, portray a Supreme Court that is accelerating its drift to the right. The court, says Harvard Constitutional Scholar Laurence Tribe, "is earning the label of a profoundly conservative, indeed almost right-wing institution." But Tribe's remains a minority viewpoint. To most court watchers, this term has been just another session in which the court has chipped away at the major Warren Court decisions without really changing them. Says University of Chicago Law Professor Philip Kurland: "The direction is clear, but it's not a new direction."

Yale Law Professor Paul Gewirtz agrees but adds an intriguing caveat. "Law changes in patterned ways," he observes. "One way is to make exceptions to flat rules. That has been the hallmark of this court." But the political implications and the perception of a move to the right—however slow or swift—also make a difference. Says he: "How one perceives the law very often shapes what it becomes." ***—By Michael S. Serrill.***

Reported by Anne Constable/Washington and John E. Yang/Atlanta, with other bureaus

Education

The Germans Are Coming

Short of math teachers, Georgia gets some foreign aid

The U.S. predicament in math and science education is no secret. More than 40 states have reported a serious shortage of math teachers. Of the students being trained in math and science at the nation's universities, many are expected to bypass teaching in favor of better-paying jobs in private industry. In West Germany, on the other hand, 40,000 teachers are unemployed, many of them qualified in math and science. This imbalance gave University of Georgia History Professor and German Emigré Lothar Tresp an idea. Why not use one country's surplus to offset the other's shortage? Earlier this year Tresp made contact with Georg-Berndt Oschatz, education minister in Lower Saxony. Oschatz had already begun to make inquiries about job possibilities in the U.S. for the 6,000 unemployed teachers in his state.

Tresp: righting an imbalance

The result: if all goes well, Germans will be coming to Georgia in August to teach math. Although the program is being termed a cultural exchange, it flows one way. Tresp and Georgia education officials will fly to Hanover early next month to interview between 20 and 30 German teachers. All have the equivalent of a B.A. in mathematics and an M.A. in education. Says Eloise Barron, math consultant to the Georgia state education department: "Math is a universal language. Trigonometry here is trigonometry there. The only problem is, can they communicate that knowledge?" The chances are good, since the candidates have studied English for an average of nine years. If satisfied, the Georgia contingent is empowered by local school systems from urban Atlanta to rural Cherokee County to offer a standard one-year contract to as many as 20 teachers. Even this complement may not be enough; Georgia high schools will need 93 new math teachers this fall. The state's universities are training only 61, some of whom will probably be siphoned off by corporations.

Once hired, the Germans will be issued visas good for one or two years. They will earn Georgia's standard beginning salary, which for those holding a master's degree is $15,400 (compared with $15,800 in West Germany). During their first year, the German teachers, like their American counterparts, will be required to pass the teacher-certification test. The Germans will pay their own way to the U.S., although local districts will help them find housing. Some Georgia educators worry about culture shock, since German teachers could be disconcerted by disorderly American students and by nonacademic duties like lunchroom monitoring. Says Bob Adams, personnel specialist for Atlanta schools, who has hired foreign-born teachers in the past: "They find it very frustrating in terms of discipline, the American attitude toward education, and the role of teacher *vs.* students."

Georgia is not the first state to turn to foreign aid for teaching talent. In the past 14 years, Louisiana has hired as many as 300 French teachers a year from Belgium, Quebec and France to teach in Cajun classrooms. Although the state has been trying to train Louisiana natives to teach French, the supply of teachers continues to lag behind demand. Furthermore, in the 1985-86 school year, all public schools in Louisiana will be required to teach a second language in grades 4 through 8, which will create the need for about 360 new French teachers.

The importation of foreign teachers may be a growing trend. As states increase requirements in math, science and languages, they exacerbate the shortage of teachers with those specialties. Oschatz has so far contacted twelve states about employing German teachers. Last month he visited New York, Illinois, Colorado, California, Massachusetts and Washington, D.C. New York, he says, showed so much interest that "expectations had to be restrained." While teacher unions are on record as supporting teacher exchanges, they are less enthusiastic about one-sided deals. National Education Association President Mary Hatwood Futrell argues that Georgia's move merely "underscores the fact that teachers' salaries are noncompetitive with industry. We don't need to go outside this country to find bright people to teach math and science." Georgia officials insist they see German teachers as a short-term solution. Says Barron: "If qualified American teachers walked in off the street tomorrow, they'd be hired." ***—By Ellie McGrath.***

Reported by Rhea Schoenthal/Bonn and Kelly Scott/Atlanta

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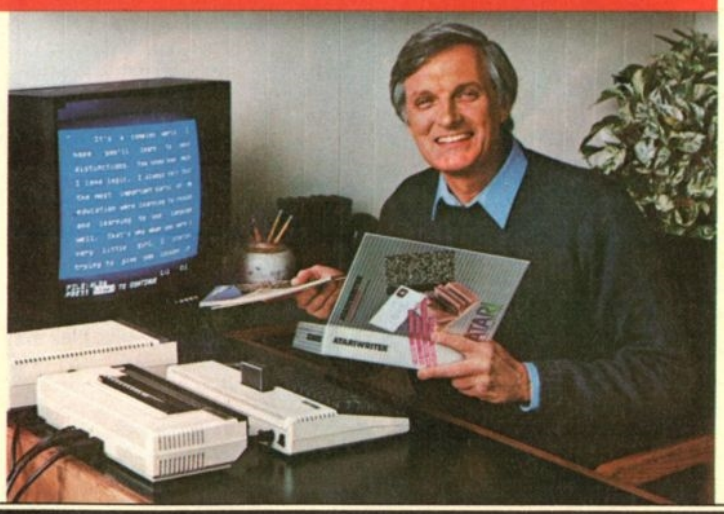

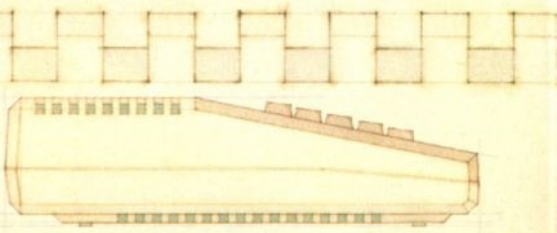

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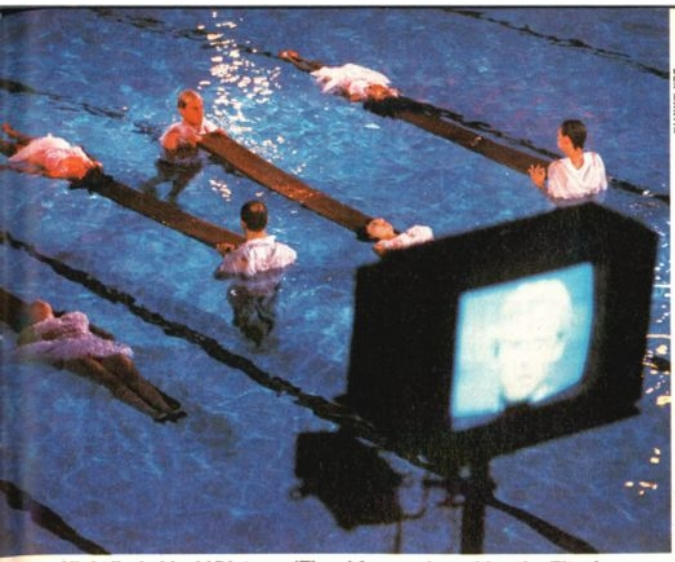

Nightfire's *Liquid Distance/Timed Approach:* evoking the *Titanic*

An acrobatic member of the Nightfire troupe in performance

Theater

Bold, Visual, Spectacular

At the Olympic Arts Festival, drama from home and abroad

The curtain rose June 7 and will not descend until July 22. In the interim, 30 theatrical companies, representing 13 countries and ranging from the four-square traditional to the cryptically avant-garde, will have shown their wares at Los Angeles' Olympic Arts Festival. By last week the offerings already had a definite, almost made-in-California stamp: bold, even daring, with an emphasis on the visual and spectacular.

Predictably good was the curtain raiser, England's Royal Shakespeare Company in a production of *Much Ado About Nothing,* which ran through last week. The witty lovers Benedick and Beatrice are delightfully played by Derek Jacobi (Claudius in PBS's 1977 series *I, Claudius*) and Sinead Cusack. Directed by Terry Hands, this *Much Ado* is helium powered: it bounces, it soars, it never comes to ground. What it misses, though, is the play's darker dimension, Shakespeare's grim message that love and honor are forever prey to rumor and malice.

A good company of an entirely different nature is the Groundlings, a homegrown group that does improvisational comedy in a tiny Hollywood theater. Their zany *Olympic Trials, a Chick Hazard Mystery* is set in the other Los Angeles Olympics, the Games of 1932, and revolves around a murder. The details change with each night's audience, which is expected to furnish not only the name of the victim but the clues as well. The dexterous company provides the rest in an outrageously low and dippy style.

Laura Farabough's Nightfire, also a California group, provides another low, but without style. Previous productions of this Sausalito company have included *Locker Room,* which took place in a high school locker room, with the audience seated atop the lockers, and *Surface Tension,* a water work that toured swimming pools up and down the West Coast. For the festival, Farabough has created another aqueous drama, *Liquid Distance/Timed Approach,* which she has staged, so to speak, in the swimming pool of the Beverly Hills High School. Unfortunately, the chlorinated blue water is clearer than her plot, which covers everything from the sinking of the *Titanic* to high school pool parties. Although the ten cast members are skillful backstrokers, they show little evidence of dramatic ability. But then how could they?

Théâtre du Soleil's "Asian" *Richard II*

P. SLAUGHTER

Perhaps the most unusual company that will appear at the festival all summer is the *Théâtre du Soleil* (Theater of the Sun) from France. Founded in 1964 by Oxford-educated Director Ariane Mnouchkine, the troupe attempts to create a theater of pure metaphor, stripped of the last trace of realism. Believing that all Westerners are too close to Shakespeare to really see him, Mnouchkine borrows from the traditions of the Orient to seek the dramatic core of his plays. French, from her own translation, is the language coming from her actors' mouths, but the dramatic idiom in the three productions she brought to Los Angeles is Asian: Japanese for *Richard II,* Indian for *Twelfth Night* and a mixture of both for *Henry IV, Part I.* The actors either paint their faces white or hide them with masks; they wear Oriental dress and usually run rather than walk across the vast, bare performance area. No ordinary stage was large enough for Mnouchkine's requirements, so the festival put her company in a TV production studio.

The troupe's performances are a spectacle for the eye and a challenge to the mind. But brilliant as they frequently are, they are more Mnouchkine than Shakespeare, and in their excessive length—*Henry IV* is more than five hours—seem to be testing the audience's endurance as much as its intelligence. Nevertheless, what Mnouchkine and her company have conceived is odd, provoking, and just what Festival Director Robert Fitzpatrick hoped for when he chose the festival's dramatic presentations. "Usually people come out of the theater in Los Angeles, get in their cars and go home," Fitzpatrick says. "Last night they came out and talked about what they had seen. That's wonderful."

—*By Gerald Clarke*

Ethics Among the Ethnics

THE POPE OF GREENWICH VILLAGE *Directed by Stuart Rosenberg*
Screenplay by Vincent Patrick

Charlie (Mickey Rourke) has an expensive taste for European-cut suits, a beautiful blond girlfriend named Diane (Daryl Hannah) who teaches aerobics, and a good job as maître d' in a restaurant. Though burdened by debts and the dream of one day owning a country inn, he is, or would like to think he is, upwardly mobile from the streets of Little Italy that formed him. His problem is that his best friend and cousin, Paulie (Eric Roberts), has enough downward mobility for any two inhabitants of the fringe. It's not long before the looniest of his cracked, crooked schemes has them being pursued by both police and Mafia.

WALZ—OUTLINE

Rourke and Roberts in *Pope*
An inch away from goodness.

By any reasonable standards, theirs is a mysterious relationship, and from Charlie's point of view, a destructive one. Diane demands, just before leaving in final disgust, "Why are you always one inch away from being a good person?," knowing full well the answer lies in the tribal loyalty that keeps him bound to his wackily wayward kinsman. But there is more to the male bonding than that, as this bleakly, sneakily comic movie explains. For all his sharp airs and knowing style, Charlie is a rather passive character. He needs the lift that Paulie, bouncing through life like a Spauldeen in a stickball game, can give him. For his part, Paulie needs to be caught every once in a while and stuffed in a warm, dark pocket to restore his elasticity.

Their adventures, with Paulie always fouling up and Charlie always covering up, are intricately and surprisingly plotted by Screenwriter Vincent Patrick, adapting his own novel. He has a fine, unforced understanding of how clan loyalties work, a bemused acceptance of corruption as a natural part of New York City's municipal style, and a sharp sense of how Irish and Italian ethics and ethnics mesh to mutual advantage and grind to mutual exasperation. In Rourke, with his alert inwardness, and Roberts, with his burbling extraversion (as opposed to his work in *Star 80* as it is possible to be), he has a dream team, actors capable of suggesting unwritten levels of intimacy in the film's central relationship while maintaining a strong, easy and persuasively naturalistic stride. With fine impartiality, Patrick has provided good roles for Burt Young and Tony Musante among the Mafiosi, for Jack Kehoe and Geraldine Page as a crooked cop and his adoring mom, and for Kenneth McMillan, playing an aging safecracker with a sad personal life, who provides a note of weary realism. Under Stuart Rosenberg's intelligently permissive direction, they provide the film with a rich variety of eccentric life.

Rosenberg's vision of New York's streets is sometimes a trifle too romantically picturesque. On occasion it distances one from his material and tames it. Even so, his sober formalism helps maintain the viewer's bearings in the midst of a busy, vertiginous film. He is, on balance, right to let material as original as this speak in its own peculiar and arresting accents. —**By Richard Schickel**

Noble Ruin

UNDER THE VOLCANO
Directed by John Huston
Screenplay by Guy Gallo

The charitable rationale for Geoffrey Firmin's alcoholism is that it constitutes a heroic refusal. Rather than embrace the political, social and religious delusions that draw the masses toward self-destruction, he prefers the company of his private demons. The less kindly reading of Geoffrey's character is that he is yet another example of a familiar type: a pretentious and self-pitying drunk.

Approaching the screen adaptation of Malcolm Lowry's complex novel, one anticipated a worst-case scenario in every sense of the word. The last gloomily adventurous 24 hours of the onetime British consul in Cuernavaca, which begin on the Mexican Day of the Dead (and on the eve of World War II as well), are an invitation to the portentous. But for once the simplifying narrative imperatives of the screen (and the imperatives of the talent assembled for the effort) have served a difficult book well. In recounting what is either an ascent to Calvary or a descent into hell, Screenwriter Guy Gallo has carved a clear path through the tangled subtropic that is Lowry's imaginative world.

In his last hours Geoffrey's business is to reject finally, definitively, all redemptive possibilities: love (represented by the return of his wife Yvonne); ideological commitment (represented by his half brother Hugh, who was Yvonne's lover); even such mild anodynes as friendship and nonalcoholic amusement. His fate is to touch bottom, literally in a den of thieves, and he is in haste to find it. The intelligence of Gallo's work lies in his recognition that the symbolic values of *Under the Volcano's* major figures, incidents and landscape are intrinsic and easy to catch. They need no forcing up.

Wise old John Huston knows that too. His is now a classic American style of

DUHAMEL—MEGA

Finney in *Under the Volcano*
Private demons preferred.

moviemaking, unselfconscious and objective: he trusts the tale, not the teller. And he trusts his actors as well. As Geoffrey, Albert Finney staggers toward his doom on feet unsteadied not so much by booze as by the weight of the cross he bears, a compound of tormented memory and suffering intelligence. There is in his presence a nobility that elicits compassion along with admiration for the actor's work. Jacqueline Bisset and Anthony Andrews tread similarly delicate lines as Yvonne and Hugh, trying to cling to their dreams despite the rude, awakening noises of Geoffrey's self-destruction. With Finney, they slowly draw the viewer across time and distance into an unlikely involvement with highly unlikely people. Some of the rich allusiveness of Lowry's prose may have been lost in the process, but much has been gained in the way of clear meaning and emotional immediacy. —***R.S.***

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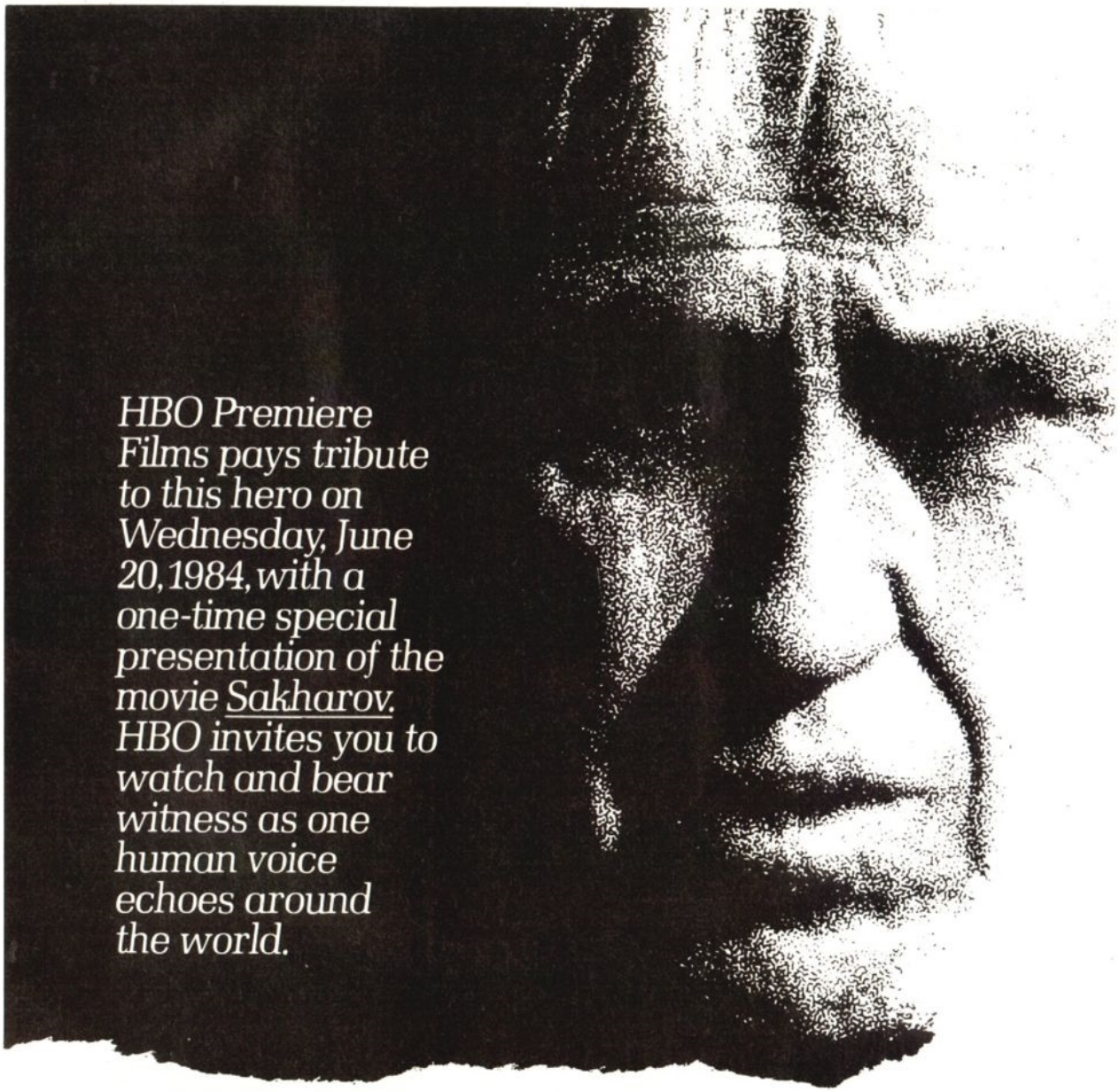

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William Shirer prepares to tell America about the fall of France from the fields of Compiègne, surrounded by German troops on June 22, 1940

Tracing the Winds of War

THE NIGHTMARE YEARS: 1930-1940 *by William L. Shirer*
Little, Brown; 654 pages; $22.50

The author of this admirable memoir began the 1930s as a journalistic adventurer of 26, jauntily evading an English blockade of the Khyber Pass to reach Afghanistan. By 1940 he regarded himself as middle-aged, worn by work, fear and revulsion, after several years of broadcasting and writing from within the increasingly brutal world of Hitler's Germany.

Shirer has written other books about this period, notably *Berlin Diary* and *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich,* but the memoir form in this case offers far more than familiar material rechewed. This is his second book of reminiscence. The first, *20th Century Journey,* published in 1976, had as its center a misty evocation of Paris in the '20s and was in some ways a familiar story worn by the telling.

Volume II has no such liability. Few Americans were on the scene as the Third Reich took form. Shirer was in Berlin, and accompanied Hitler and his entourage to Paris when the Pétain government surrendered in 1940. At the start he was a newspaperman; Edward R. Murrow hired him away in 1937 to be the other half of CBS Radio's staff in Europe. Shirer's journalistic credentials eventually brought him invitations to the bizarre Nazi *Bierabends* (get-togethers over beer) organized for the press by Alfred Rosenberg, the official Nazi philosopher. Hermann Göring would circulate, fat, affable and crude; then came the Führer's "somewhat dim-witted 'deputy,' " Rudolf Hess; then the "vain, pompous, incredibly stupid" Joachim von Ribbentrop, who was to be Foreign Minister. Shirer recalls being dumbfounded by Bernhard Rust, the Nazi Education Minister, a bureaucratic ideologue who explained the difference between serious, careful, Aryan physics and the degenerate Jewish physics, as represented by the mountebank Einstein.

Shirer was close enough to Hitler to feel the Nazi leader's messianic personal force. Even in the early '30s, his memoir makes clear, he was not tempted to underrate the Führer. But the collection of crackbrains and third-raters with which Hitler surrounded himself was absurd enough, by Shirer's account, to suggest a reason for the long years before the Nazis were taken seriously in England and the U.S.

Shirer's autobiographical narrative threads in and out of the chaos in a remarkable manner. Some of the recollections are simply good journalistic yarns, such as the one about flying with Göring and Aviator Charles Lindbergh in what was claimed to be the world's largest aircraft, a cumbersome, eight-engine passenger plane recently built for Lufthansa. "Göring turned over the controls to Lindbergh somewhere above the Wannsee, and we were treated to some fancy rolls, steep banks and other maneuvers for which the Goliath machine was not designed. I thought for a few moments that the plane would be torn apart." Much of the account is touching and personal; Shirer tells of his marriage to an Austrian woman, the difficult birth of their daughter, their brief vacations while the crash of Europe rumbles in the background, his worry as shaky news-service jobs wash

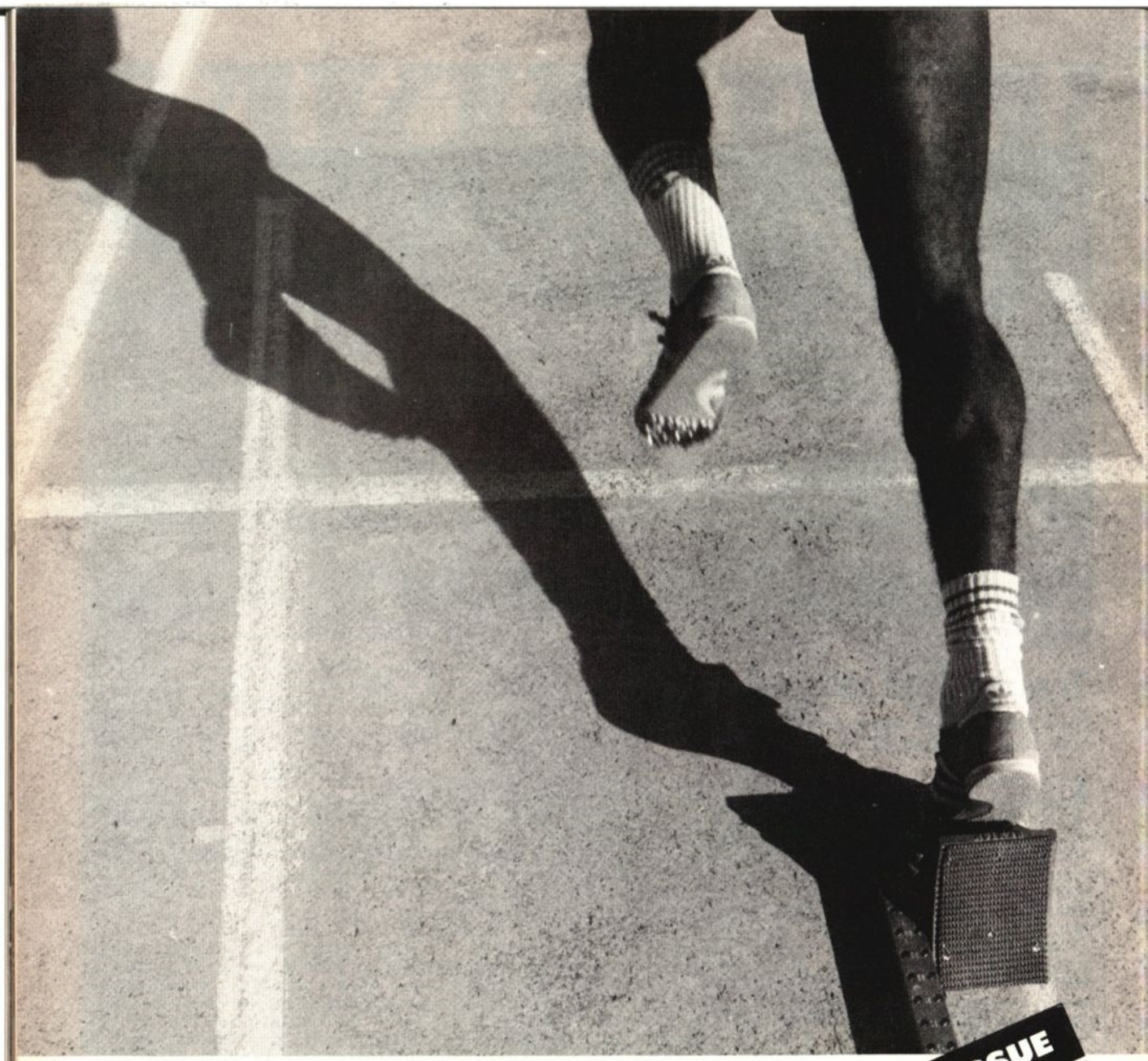
Excerpt

"What Göring had asked me to come to see him about was very simple. Universal Service wanted him to write a regular article every month or two. He had agreed to do so, if he could clear it with Hitler and if the price was right . . .

Every Sunday the Hearst newspapers and other journals which subscribed to Universal Service published an article by a well-known foreign political figure. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill in England and Clemenceau and Poincaré in France had been regular contributors and Mussolini soon became one. Our New York office suggested getting, since we could not have Hitler, who had turned us down, the number-two Nazi. This had led me to call Göring.

He turned out to be, as I expected, a tough bargainer. We gave him a top price to begin with and he was always asking for more money for ensuing pieces. I must say he was genial enough about it, though persistent.

'Come on,' he would say. 'Your Mr. Hearst is a billionaire, *nicht wahr?* What's a thousand or two more dollars per article to him?'"



"If I can't win, I won't start."

Daley Thompson
1980 Gold Medal Decathlete

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LIFE

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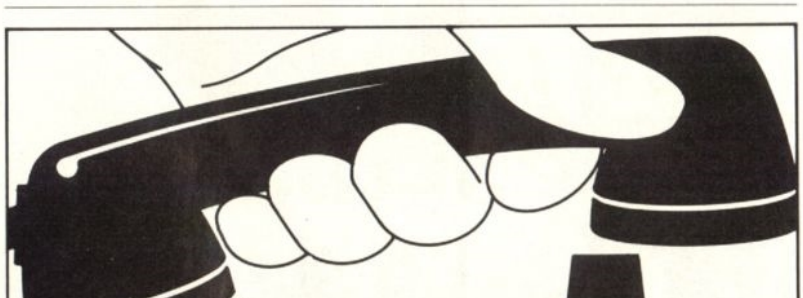

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T261B

Books

out from under him. His account of trying to get CBS to pay attention to the imminent annexation of Austria, while a New York executive insisted that he set up a series of children's choir broadcasts, is a classic tale of the man in the field confounded by home-office buffoonery.

The beginning of actual fighting did catch the network's attention, but it did not end the correspondents' problems with bosses who were entertainment biggies, not newsmen. No one had ever covered a war by radio, but it was clear to Shirer and Murrow that the way to do it was to record the sounds of bombs and guns—and interviews with combatants when these could be arranged—and then to weave these bits into a nightly broadcast. The Germans, proud of their blitzkrieg success in the early months of the war, offered mobile recording facilities. CBS refused, Shirer recalls with anger that is still raw, because of "an idiotic ruling" that all broadcasts must be entirely live. The British bombing of Berlin was live enough, and it came at the right time for Shirer's nightly 1 a.m. broadcast back to the States. But German censors shut off mention of the raids and installed a lip microphone that "did not pick up the roar of the antiaircraft batteries ringing Broadcast House nor the thuds of bombs exploding near by." Meanwhile, German bombs could be clearly heard on Murrow's broadcasts from London.

During the war's early stages, his battles with the censors were tolerable wrangles. As the momentum of Hitler's first successes slackened, censorship tightened and Shirer's struggles to tell something of the truth in his broadcasts became more and more acrimonious and futile ("You can't call Germany aggressive and militaristic," he was told; "please remember that it was Poland which attacked us first"). By autumn of 1940, he was giving his best material to his diary—his sighting, for instance, of Soviet Foreign Minister V.M. Molotov on his way to meet a German delegation headed by Göring and Ribbentrop. Molotov looked "expressionless" and "dour . . . like a provincial schoolmaster." But the diary, quoted extensively in this journal, also records Shirer's edginess and fatigue. Word has been passed to him that he is suspected of being a spy. American neutrality has become a fiction. He is not certain that the secret police will stamp his exit papers. When he finally does leave in early December, having talked gullible Gestapo officials into sealing two bags containing his contraband diaries against customs inspection, the suspense is as tightly strung as any in *The Winds of War*.

Shirer gives himself no airs as thinker or writer, but the fact is that he was a superb journalist, who knew his subject, spoke the languages, did his digging and got the news out. And at 80, living now in Lenox, Mass., he still writes an unusually fine book. ***—By John Skow***

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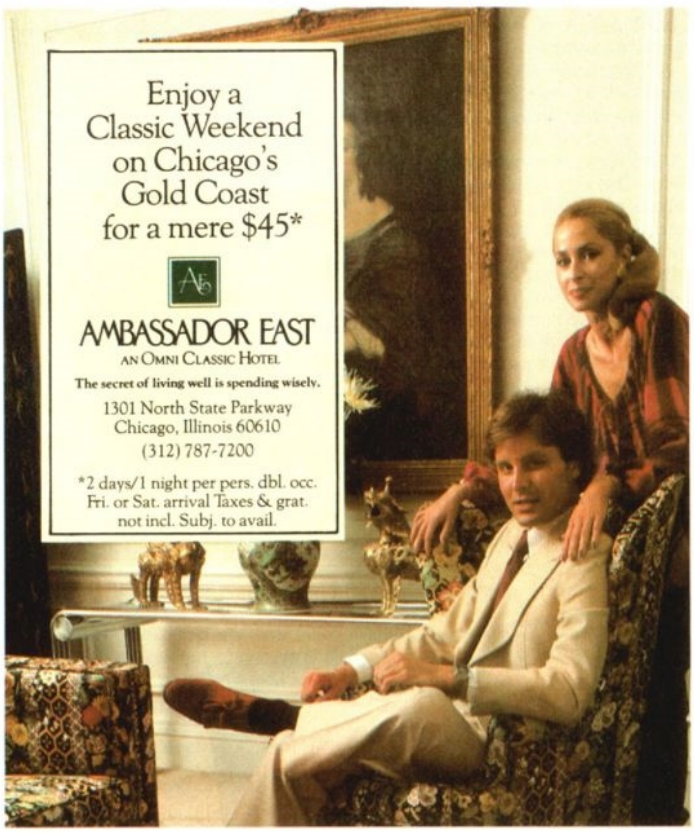

TIME ON THE AIR

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George Lapo

Martha Woodward (2)

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What's the Beef?

MODERN MEAT
by Orville Schell
Random House; 337 pages; $17.95

Not many hungry Americans who bite into a hamburger or a leg of fried chicken realize that along with the expected seasonings, they are probably getting generous helpings of hormones, antibiotics, insecticides, and even printer's ink from wastepaper that was recycled into animal feed. Such unappetizing and potentially harmful lagniappes come courtesy of the meat producers who routinely feed them to livestock to promote growth, not only in the animals but in their own bank accounts.

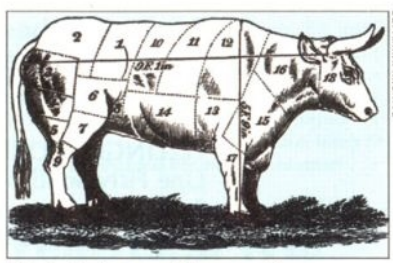
Orville Schell freely acknowledges the progress that has been made in providing Americans with an abundant meat supply at low prices. But he and many of the research scientists he interviewed warn that before such feeding practices are continued, more should be learned about their lasting effects on consumers. It is also essential, he says, that more effective methods of Government inspection be devised to guard against the illegal use of such substances. A respected journalist and China watcher, Schell is also a pig farmer, a term he prefers to the meat industry's title, pork producer. It was his own reliance on chemicals and pharmaceuticals, in chores like helping a sow give birth to a particularly difficult litter, that started him wondering just how widespread the use of antibiotics and hormones might be.

The result of his odyssey throughout the country is this compelling, often frightening book. The overprocessed meats Schell ate en route (boneless "restructured" spareribs, prefrozen, preportioned steaks, and turkey roll that had no dark meat) are a match for some of the equally processed human products he watched and heard, often with bemusement, sometimes with dismay. Take, for example, the Illinois State Pork Queen, Pam Carney, who acted out the role of a pig as part of her presentation to the judges at the Illinois Pork Producers' Association's annual fair. "I kind of told about myself from the perspective of being a pig," she burbles. "I told them all about my virtues, how I grew very quickly, produced lots of piglets, provided nutritious meat that was actually very lean in spite of what people thought."

But Schell's acute eye for the human cartoon does not miss the more disturbing aspects of the meat industry. In a particularly chilling chapter, he recalls the 1979-81 epidemic of prepubertal development of breasts in Puerto Rican children, among them a one-year-old girl and a twelve-year-old boy. Dr. Saenz de Rodriguez, director of pediatrics at De Diego Hospital in San Juan, attributed the anomalies to hormone-fed chickens, which were a staple of the local diet. There are equally depressing reports of antibiotic resistance developed by farm workers who took care of livestock routinely fed substances like tetracycline. The sad series of events that occurs when nature is tampered with, reports the author, is demonstrated by a new necessity to feed artificial roughage to cattle that are raised on a high-grain diet, instead of being allowed to graze. One solution may be plastic hay, and no one knows what effects the plastic, if marketed, may have on beef consumers. Meanwhile, cardboard, shopping bags, computer paper, corrugated boxes and newspapers, among other unlikely substances, are used for fiber.

Schell avoids the messianic zeal that so often mars muckraking books. He is not even a vegetarian, which surely represents a triumph of optimism over experience. But his careful, almost totally unemotional reporting on the lingering use of the banned synthetic hormone DES (diethylstilbestrol), a known carcinogen, is convincing precisely because it is so moderate and sane.

Schell is even tolerant and understanding about the hostile meat producers and chemists who take a certain redneck umbrage at his questions. The owner of an "exotic feed" company recalls an experiment: "We fed out three head of cattle to slaughter size on ground cardboard and grapefruit peel, and I want to tell you they dressed out real good. The taste on those guys was terrific. They were lean, but they made the best burgers I ever ate." Several, in effect, tell him that city folk who worry about chemicals in their meat think nothing of using sanitizers and insecticides and taking tranquilizers as well as an assortment of other drugs. Schell agrees with the mild and irrefutable answer of Dr. Roy Hertz, who headed the National Cancer Institute's endocrinology branch for more than 25 years: Yes, but they know they are doing it, and in most cases they have a choice.


BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Butcher's diagram of steer portions

Lagniappes of hormones and ink.

Some of the more technical chapters dealing with the scientific workings of the genetic and immune systems may be heavy going for nonprofessional readers, but even if they are skipped over, the case for Schell's argument seems complete and decisive. It's enough to make any serious eater resort to a safe and steady diet of caviar, truffles and champagne. —*By Mimi Sheraton*

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Change of Command at *U.S. News*

Atlantic's *owner buys out the magazine's employees*

Mortimer Zuckerman, the real estate magnate whose Park Avenue offices in New York City overlook the site of a 1 million-sq.-ft. tower that he is building, joked on the telephone to friends last week that he can now afford lunch only at "some place with a takeout counter." The reason: Zuckerman, 47, has agreed to pay $182.5 million in cash to acquire the parent company of *U.S. News & World Report* (circ. 2.1 million), a purchase that will vault him into the major leagues of

HENSLEY—GAMMA/LIAISON

The new owner peruses last week's issue

"Magazines should be wound up regularly."

American journalism. He will be the sole owner of the magazine, a conservative, no-nonsense weekly that emphasizes politics and the economy. Although he assured the staff that he would sustain the tradition that has built a loyal readership, he makes it clear that he bought *U.S. News* out of a personal desire to be involved. Says he: "I like the magazine's position. But I also like it because it is something I can work on."

Zuckerman, a witty, urbane socialite who raised funds for Senator Gary Hart's presidential campaign, might seem an unlikely buyer for *U.S. News,* a magazine that prides itself on a down-home flavor virtually devoid of literary flourishes and serves a predominantly Midwest and Sunbelt audience. Founded as a daily national newspaper in 1926 by David Lawrence, a syndicated columnist, it evolved into its present format after World War II. In contrast to TIME (U.S. circ. 4.6 million) and *Newsweek* (U.S. circ. 3 million), *U.S. News* down-plays reportage of a week's events in favor of analysis of their impact on readers and gives scant, though increasing, attention to technology, culture and life-styles.

The decision to sell the magazine brought a bittersweet experience to the employees, who hold most of the company's stock under a profit-sharing plan initiated by Lawrence: they gained a windfall but lost control. The process started last December, when a still anonymous bid brought into focus what had been just a complaint from a few retirees: that *U.S. News* was shortchanging departing staffers by sharply undervaluing the company's assets. These include a high-technology typesetting company and a pending hotel-and-office complex (started as a joint venture with Zuckerman) on *U.S. News's* 3.5-acre headquarters site in Washington. The directors, all employees themselves, felt obliged to seek bids and heard from more than 40 companies, including Hearst, Gannett and other media giants. Despite the magazine's modest and uneven record of profits and a 13.4% decline in advertising pages in the first quarter, Zuckerman offered $3,000 per share, more than seven times the price at which the company valued its stock a year ago.

Perhaps two dozen or more longtime managers, editors and writers could become instant millionaires when the transaction is approved by the staff and the Labor Department. Editor Marvin Stone, 60, and Managing Editor Lester Tanzer, 54, will each collect about $5 million; employees such as Circulation Clerk Evelyn Fox (43 years seniority) and Chauffeur Obadiah Person (39 years) will collect $400,000 or more.

As a Montreal schoolboy, the son of a tobacco and candy merchant, Zuckerman bought the New York *Times* every day. He recalls: "Public affairs, especially in the U.S., were my soap opera." He studied business at the University of Pennsylvania and law at Harvard, stayed in the U.S. to amass a fortune estimated at $150 million through construction ventures, and became a citizen in 1977. Says he: "The surprising thing is not that a real estate developer should enter publishing but that with my interests, I went into real estate in the first place. My success enabled me to come into publishing at just the right level." His first foray was the *Atlantic.* Since he took over in 1980, circulation has risen from 340,000 to 436,000, and advertising revenues have more than doubled. Editor William Whitworth, lured from *The New Yorker,* was granted an indulgent budget and produced headline-making pieces, notably a candid description from Budget Director David Stockman of the Reagan Administration's first months.

Zuckerman has urged Stone and other top *U.S. News* editors to stay, and he is aware that rapid changes in format might alienate readers. But if his actions at the *Atlantic* are any guide, he is apt to bring in a new editor. One likely candidate: Harold Evans, 55, the crusading former editor of the *Times* of London, whom Zuckerman recently hired as editor in chief of Atlantic Monthly Press. As Zuckerman points out, however, Evans is British "and is accustomed to a different system and style of journalism."

Zuckerman says his first priority is to revamp the blocky, word-crammed look of *U.S. News.* Other changes seem sure to follow. As a hands-on owner, he plans to participate in interviews with newsmakers, visit the magazine's bureaus (eight in the U.S., ten overseas), and read some of the copy before it is published. He also intends to enhance coverage of business and of social issues, including the impact of new technologies on family life, agriculture and health. *"U.S. News* has a voice that can be refined and modulated, but the voice should not be lost," Zuckerman notes. "I believe in something Marvin Stone said to me: 'Magazines are like clocks—they get wound down regularly, and they should be wound up regularly.' " ***—By William A. Henry III. Reported by Patricia Delaney/Washington***

Televised War

A Viet Nam rebuttal for PBS

The battle over how to interpret the Viet Nam War seems to be almost as intractable as the conflict itself. Last year PBS aired a 13-hour series, *Viet Nam: A Television History.* Despite wide critical praise, the series was attacked by some conservatives who thought it indulged the Communist side. The National Endowment for the Humanities, which provided $1.3 million to the $4.6 million series, received 300 letters alleging distortion. So when Accuracy in Media, a group dedicated to exposing liberal bias, suggested a rebuttal show, NEH Chairman William Bennett awarded a start-up grant of $30,000, despite disagreement among his top aides. Explained Bennett: "It seemed only reasonable to answer some of the questions raised." According to A.I.M. Chairman Reed Irvine, the reply, to be offered to PBS stations, will show up "errors and omissions" in the series' coverage of Vietnamese history and the life of Ho Chi Minh. Series Reporter Stanley Karnow acknowledges that minor changes were made for a rebroadcast next month but insists, "We did a fair and balanced job." ■

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Believing What You Read

Wouldn't it be great to read a bona fide first-person account of how Israel's secret service hunted down and killed the Arab gunmen who murdered eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich? What a bestseller it would make! Simon & Schuster spent $125,000 for the U.S. publishing rights and ordered a 50,000 first printing of *Vengeance*, subtitled *The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team*. But even before the book was published a month ago, widespread doubts were raised about its authenticity.

When asked by the New York *Times* why books are published whose facts cannot be completely confirmed, Michael Korda, editor in chief at Simon & Schuster, replied, "We operate on a different basis than a newspaper. We don't have a staff of hundreds of reporters to check every book we publish. We start from the assumption that it's the author's book. If it isn't libelous, the weight of responsibility is to let the author tell his story." Korda's candor may come as a shock to laymen who think of newspapers as being edited in a hurry, with facts assembled as best they can be on short notice, while a book is slowly gestated, relentlessly checked, permanently bound and meant to endure. But the rush is on at a number of publishers to put out books that become bestsellers by making headlines. The book jacket of *Vengeance* calls it "perhaps the most sensational headline-making book of the year."

STEPHEN SHAKES

Publisher Korda

Alas, sometimes the headlines are the wrong kind. Random House recently shredded copies of a biography of Barbara Hutton to escape a costly libel suit. Howard Hughes' fake autobiography earlier proved that hot book ideas can be too good to be true.

Vengeance is S & S's second attempt to market a dubiously documented story. Five years ago, a writer named Rinker Buck approached the company with the story. Buck and his Israeli informant were offered a $60,000 book advance, with $20,000 as down payment. But when Buck went off to Europe to check the facts, he found many discrepancies in the Israeli's account: "He was changing his story daily." After telling his editors of his concerns, Buck decided he was ethically unable to do the book. So Peter Schwed, then chairman of the editorial board of S & S, recommended that the book be turned into a spy novel ("That's a simple way of presenting something you are nervous about presenting as fact," he told the *Wall Street Journal*). Two novelists declined the job.

Schwed has since retired and had nothing to do with *Vengeance*—the same story from the same secret agent but with a new writer. It was offered by a small Canadian publisher to Michael Korda, who jumped at it. Korda is the nephew of Film Producer Sir Alexander Korda. Articulate, aggressive and imperturbably assured, he makes so little secret of his ambition for recognition that friends consider it part of his Hungarian charm. Among his own bestsellers is *Power! How to Get It, How to Use It*, a book neither as trashy nor as clever as it sounds. Hype is Korda's natural gift ("My argument is with people who do not view the world cynically," he once said). He published an "as told to" book by an aging mobster, Joseph Bonanno. Critics complained that it romanticized the Mafia and objected to its title, *A Man of Honor*. The title was Korda's, who later explained, "It does not affirm that Simon & Schuster thinks he is a man of honor, but that that is what he claims to be."

Such hype is also the problem with *Vengeance*. Its author, George Jonas, a Canadian writer and radio producer, satisfied himself that the Israeli's story could be believed, though he is less sure that the supposed secret agent, code-named "Avner," was, as he claimed, leader of the mission. In his foreword, Jonas acknowledges that much of the tale rests on the unverified claims of one man and concedes that the book uses "reconstructed" dialogue. None of these caveats is suggested in the title page's promise of "the true story."

"We do our best to check facts," says Korda. "But it is the writer's obligation to be accurate." Any newspaper or magazine editor who used such a justification to publish an unverified story would be lambasted, and rightly so. Korda further argues, "Accuracy is not at issue here; veracity is. Had we said, 'This is the true story of the mission by a man who claims to have led it,' we would be home free." A fishy distinction: surely if the man didn't lead the mission, accuracy is just as much involved as veracity.

Milestones

CONVICTED. Samuel Brown, 43, ex-convict; of murder and robbery in the 1981 Brink's armored-truck holdup at a Nanuet, N.Y., mall in which a guard and two police officers were killed; in White Plains, N.Y. Brown was the last of the nine Brink's suspects in custody to be prosecuted.

SENTENCED. George Hansen, 53, colorful, right-wing Republican Congressman from Idaho; to five to 15 months in prison and a $40,000 fine, for filing false financial-disclosure statements to Congress that, among other things, omitted his monetary ties to Texas Billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt; in Washington, D.C.

DIED. Enrico Berlinguer, 62, secretary-general since 1972 of Italy's Communist Party (P.C.I.), the largest and most influential in the Western world, and builder of "Eurocommunism," a Western democratic Marxism; of a stroke; in Padua, Italy. An intense, humorless Sardinian born to an aristocratic family, he rose through party ranks, was elected to parliament in 1968, and took over effective party leadership from the ailing Luigi Longo in 1969. In pursuit of his ultimate goal—inclusion in the government—Berlinguer rejected Soviet Communism as a model and approved Italy's membership in NATO. In the 1976 elections, the P.C.I. gained its greatest popularity, with 34.4% of the vote. But Berlinguer was denied the "historic compromise" of a coalition partnership with the long-dominant Christian Democrats, and his party's vote totals gradually declined.

DIED. Nathaniel Owings, 81, boisterous cofounder and senior partner of the architectural leviathan Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, who presided over more than $3 billion of construction during his 40-year career, including such prestigious and innovative design commissions as New York City's Lever House, Chicago's towering John Hancock Building, and San Francisco's Crown Zellerbach Building; of lung cancer; in Jacona, N. Mex.

DIED. Meredith Willson, 82, *The Music Man's* music man, who wrote book, score and lyrics for the durable 1957 Broadway salute to small-town simplicity and sentiment, and *The Unsinkable Molly Brown* (1960), also a hit; in Santa Monica, Calif.

DIED. Margaret Farrar, 87, first lady of crosswords, who served as puzzle editor of the New York *Times* from 1942 to 1969, compiled 134 collections for publication since 1924, and transformed a newspaper space filler into a perennial national pastime, upgrading its style and language and creating all kinds of theme puzzles; of a heart attack; in New York City.

"Military power...serves the cause of peace
by holding up a shield behind which the patient,
constructive work of peace can go on."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
Annual Address to the Congress—January 9, 1958

Wise men and women have always known it. An adequate national defense is by far the most certain and least costly means of preserving peace and freedom.

The definition of an "adequate national defense" will always be in dispute. But prudent men and women agree it must include research and development of the most advanced defense systems. It also requires reasonable supplies of the equipment that would be necessary to meet any of the most likely threats to our national security. And, we must provide the consistent, dependable political support that is essential to the success of our armed forces.

Finally, we should appreciate and respect America's dedicated men and women in uniform, for they are the ones who must serve as the ultimate deterrent to any aggressor.

Lockheed

Gremlins in the Rating System

Two hit films raise new concerns about protecting children

Ah, summer: that blithe season when the latest Steven Spielberg movies are in full bloom at the nation's theaters. Fantasy, fun and lighthearted adventure for all, right? Well, this year it depends on one's idea of fun. In *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom,* Spielberg's slam-bang sequel to *Raiders of the Lost Ark,* a man's heart is ripped out of his chest in a ritual sacrifice, and he is lowered alive into a pit of molten lava. In *Gremlins,* a fantasy co-produced by Spielberg and directed by Joe Dante, a boy's cuddly, otherworldly pet spawns a generation of vicious creatures that, in one scene, terrorize the boy's mother in the kitchen. She retaliates by churning up one gremlin in a food processor and exploding another in a microwave oven.

Grisly scenes like these have not hurt the box-office receipts of either picture. *Indiana Jones* earned a phenomenal $94.5 million in its first 23 days, and *Gremlins* grossed $12.5 million in its first weekend. But they have incited a torrent of complaints that the PG rating given both movies fails to warn impressionable young children. The outcry has come not just from peevish movie critics but from theater owners and parents as well. Carl Hoffman, a film buyer for the Dubinsky Brothers movie chain in the Midwest, says that 50 people stalked out of a screening of *Gremlins* because of the violence. Milwaukee *Journal* Movie Critic Douglas Armstrong, who does a radio call-in show, has been deluged with calls from unhappy parents. Says he: "Their faith in the movie rating system has been shaken."

Similar sentiments are growing in Hollywood. Last week the Motion Picture Association of America (M.P.A.A.) seemed close to making perhaps the most sweeping change in the rating system since it was established 16 years ago. Ready for unveiling is a new rating, known as PG-13, that would prohibit children under 13 from being admitted unless accompanied by a parent or adult guardian. The rating would presumably be used in the future for movies like *Indiana Jones* that are deemed acceptable for teen-agers but potentially harmful to younger children.

The PG-13 proposal has been endorsed by a number of studio chiefs and theater owners and by the chairman of the M.P.A.A. rating board. Even Spielberg, confessing in a TV interview that there were parts of *Indiana Jones* that he would not want a ten-year-old to see, advocated the creation of the new rating. The proposed change, however, has been opposed by M.P.A.A. President Jack Valenti. He argues that the current system is working well enough and that adding more classifications would cause more confusion. "Who is smart enough to say what is permissible for a 13-year-old and not for a twelve-year-old?" Valenti asks. "Who can draw that line?"

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***Indiana Jones* Star Harrison Ford, left, is manhandled in a torture scene**

The rating board has been drawing lines since 1968, when the present classification system was set up. Movies are submitted to a seven-member review board, all of them parents, selected for two- or three-year terms. The board assigns each movie one of four ratings: G (for all audiences), PG (parental guidance suggested), R (restricted: under 17 not admitted unless accompanied by a parent or adult guardian), and X (no one under 17 admitted). The rating can be overturned by a 22-member appeals board made up of theater owners, independent distributors and studio representatives.

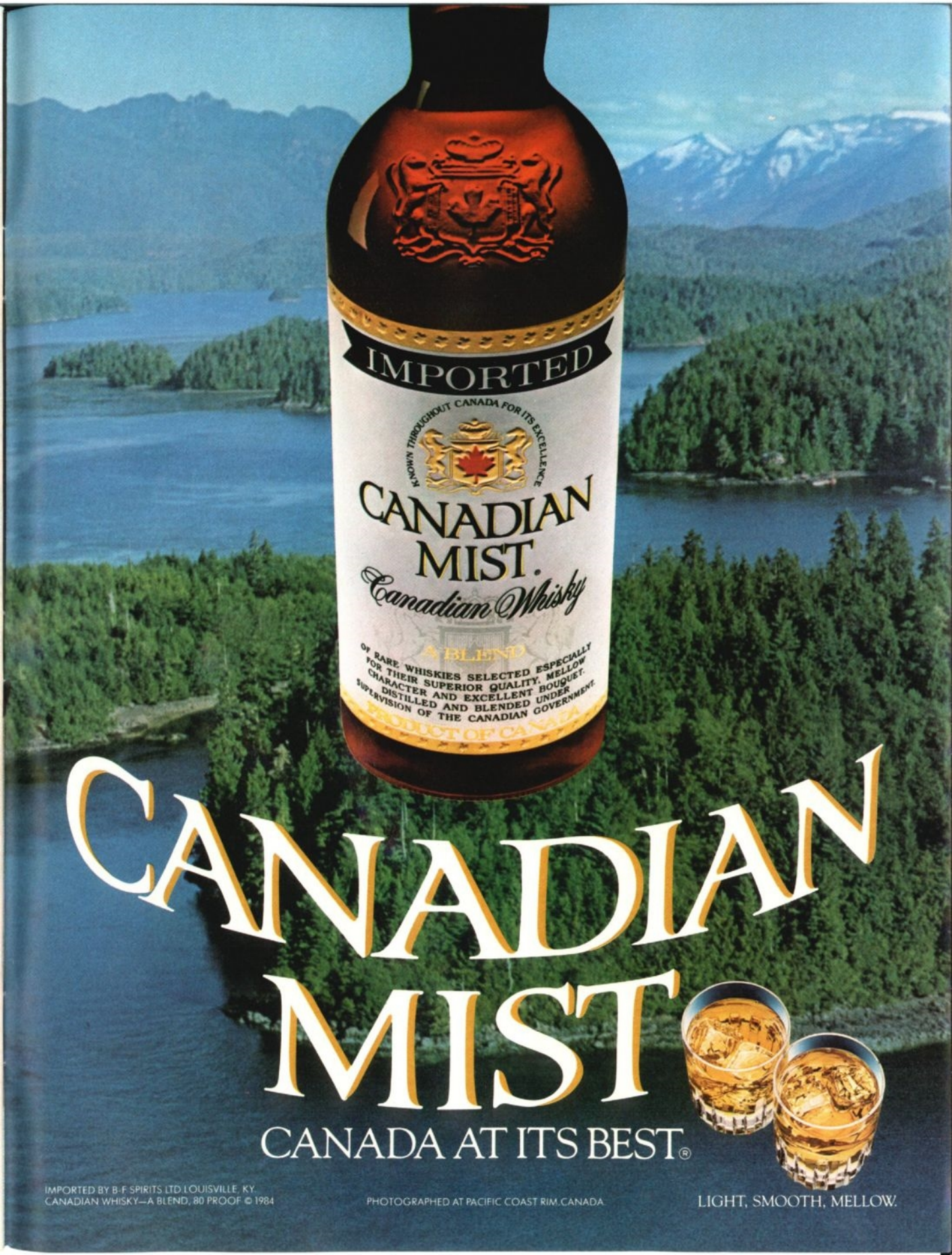
Except for the so-called automatic language rule, which mandates an R for movies using certain sexually explicit words, the board has no fixed criteria for its ratings. "The rule of reason prevails here, not a bunch of rules," says Richard Heffner, 58, a Rutgers University professor of communications and public policy who has been chairman of the rating board for the past ten years. "Our function is not to impose ideologies, morality, psychology or aesthetics, but to make an educated estimation of what most parents would think a movie should be rated."

As audience standards of what is permissible in movies have changed, so have the ratings. For one thing, the X rating has fallen into virtual disuse. Of the 342 films submitted to the board between November 1982 and October 1983, none were released with an X. Since an X rating can have a disastrous effect on the box office, producers almost always prefer to re-edit a movie to gain an R, or release it unrated. Bo and John Derek's erotic adventure film *Bolero,* for example, was originally rated X, but will be distributed later this summer without a rating. Unrated films, however, cannot be advertised on TV stations or in many newspapers, and some theater chains refuse to show them.

Heffner and the board have begun taking a harder line on film violence. They gave an X last fall to Brian De Palma's bloody gangster epic *Scarface,* but it was changed to R by the appeals board. Last week that board upheld an X rating given to *Terror in the Aisles,* a compilation of scenes from past horror films scheduled for release by Universal later this year.

The G rating, which to many viewers implies blandly wholesome family fare, has become nearly as much of a box-office stigma as an X. In the twelve-month period ending in October 1983, only twelve films were rated G. The four-rating system has thus been reduced, for all practical purposes, to two. G is out, and so is X. Indeed, for any movie seeking the widest possible audience, that number is effectively cut to one: even an R can tarnish a film's commercial prospects.

The PG-13 seems to offer a promising alternative. Says Guy McElwaine, president of Columbia Pictures: "PG-13 would take away the pain of getting an R on a movie that doesn't deserve one." It would also recognize, very belatedly, that there is a big difference between what a twelve-year-old should be allowed to see and what a 16-year-old should be permitted to see. As Heffner puts it, "Parents generally don't treat pre-teen-agers as they do older brothers and sisters, and the rating system shouldn't either." —*By Richard Zoglin. Reported by Meg Grant/Los Angeles and Timothy Loughran/New York*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